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EDITED BY
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXXVIII 1969-1970

No. 1—NEW DELHI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Calcutta

(*Received on 28.9.1967*)

Sometime ago, the discovery of a new inscription of the **Maurya emperor Aśoka**[1] (c. 272-232 B. C.) at **New Delhi** was reported in the newspapers. It is described as engraved on a flat but tilted rock surface of the quartzitic outcrop of the Aravalli in the newly developing Amarpuri Colony to the south of Lajpatnagar. The discovery resulted from clues supplied by Sardar Jang Bahadur Singh who is a building contractor of Delhi. The inscription was identified as an Aśokan epigraph by Shri M. C. Joshi and Shri B. M. Pande of the Archaeological Survey.[2] Dr. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, copied the record in September, 1966, and was good enough to send me two impressions for editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica.* I am thankful to him for his kindness.

The inscription under study is a version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I which was so far known from copies discovered at no less than 13 places in different parts of India—(1) Sahasram in the Shahabad District of Bihar, (2) Ahraura in the Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh, (3-4) Rupnath in the Jabalpur District and Gujarra in the Datia District of Madhya Pradesh, (5) Bairat in the Jaipur Division of Rajasthan, (6-11) Maski, Gavimath and Palkigundu in the Raichur District, and Siddapura, Jatinga-Ramesvara and Brahmagiri in the Chitaldurg (Chitradurga) District of Mysore, and (12-13) Erragudi and Rajula-Mandagiri in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh.

The New Delhi version is thus the fourteenth copy of the epigraphic record. Its discovery at New Delhi is interesting because, unlike the Delhi-Siwalik and Delhi-Meerut pillar inscriptions of Aśoka which were brought to Delhi from outside by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh (1351-88 A.D.) of the Tughluq dynasty, the Minor Rock Edict engraved on rock is *in situ.* This shows that there was a flourishing city in the vicinity of the inscription during Aśoka's time and that it was intended for the people of the said city. Considering the tradition about the ancient city of Indraprastha located near Delhi,[3] it appears that the Aśokan inscription under study was meant for the citizens of ancient Indraprastha. The present inscription thus indirectly proves that Indraprastha was one of the flourishing cities during the Maurya age.

[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this paper.

[2] When the present paper was going through the press, an article entitled 'A Newly Discovered Inscription of Aśoka at Bahapur, Delhi,' by Joshi and Pande, appeared in *JRAS*, 1967, *pp.* 96-98 and Plates I-II. They say that the findspot of the inscription is not in the Amarpuri Colony, but liea "to the south-east of Delhi in a colony now being developed to the south of Srinivasapuri. The inscription is within the village limits of Bahapur."

[3] Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 21 (note 2), 92. Indraprastha is located at the site now called Purana Qila.

In the present record, the inscribed space is marked by a deeply incised vertical line (about 3 feet in length) at the right hand side, though it is difficult to say whether it was engraved before or after the incision of the edict. The engraving of the letters of the inscription is rather shallow compared to that of the vertical line, and the lines of writing are not at right angle to the said line. The lines of the inscription are again of different length and their beginning and end are by no means uniform. Lines 1-2 and 5 end quite close to the vertical line ; but such does not appear to be the case with lines 3-4, etc. The writing covers an area about 2 feet in height and between 2 feet 5 inches and 1 foot 4 inches in width.

There are altogether ten lines of writing in the inscription, the preservation of which is unsatisfactory, some *aksharas* in most of the lines being totally rubbed off. Needless to say that, like the other versions of the edict, the present epigraph is written in the Early Brāhmī **script** and the Prakrit **language.** It has, however, to be noted that the *aksharas* are not of uniform size and, in some cases, the letters and signs exhibit cursive forms ; *e.g.*, *va* in *Devānampiye* (line 1) ; *ha* in *hake* (line 2 ; cf. *mahatveneva* in line 6) ; the *e-mātrā* in *te* in *etena* (line 4) ; *la* in *āladhetave* (line 7) and *uḍālā* (line 8) ; the *i-mātrā* in *ti* in *vadhisati* (line 10) ; etc. The back of *d* is sometimes angular (cf. *Devānampiye* in line 1 and *diyaḍhiyam* in line 10) and sometimes roundish. There is no uniformity in the space between any two *aksharas* : cf. *khudakā cha uḍālā cha palakamamtu* (line 8) in which there is no extra space between *kā* and *cha* and between *lā* and *cha* while the space between *cha* and *u*, between *u* and *ḍā*, between *cha* and *pa* and between *mam* and *tu* is considerably wider than that between any other two *aksharas* in the record. This lack of uniformity puts us in some difficulty in conjecturing the number of lost *aksharas* in the damaged sections of the inscription. The **orthographical** and **linguistic** peculiarities exhibited by the inscription are also noticed in the other versions of the edict. 'The language of the edict is usually called the Māgadhī dialect of Prakrit speech.

As regards the draft of the inscription, it generally follows the Bairat version of the edict, but exhibits some variations. Interesting is the use of the word *hamaye* for Sanskrit *mayā*, 'by me', in line 3 in place of *mamayā* found in the Bairat version. We know that the Aśokan edicts use the words *me*; *maya*, *mama*, *mamā*, *mamayā*; *mamāye*, *mamiyā*, *mamiyāye*, etc., in the above sense. The word *mayā* seems to be also used in the present version in line 2. In place of *siyā* (Sanskrit *syāt*) and *hotu* (Sanskrit *bhavatu*) of the other versions, we have here *hoti* (line 9) which reminds us of *hoti* in the Siddapura version. Sanskrit *śakya* has been made *chake* in line 6 and *sakā(ke)* in line 7. The word *bāḍhim* (lines 2 and 3) for Sanskrit *bāḍham* may be compared to *bāḍhi* in the Rupnath version of the edict (lines 1 and 2).

The well-known geographical name **Jambu-dvīpa** occurs in the inscription. In early Indian literature, this name is applied to 'the earth' as well as to the land between the sea in the south, east and west and the Himādri in the north. In the inscriptions of Aśoka, the name Jambu-dvīpa and the word *pṛithivī* appear to have been used to indicate the Maurya kingdom.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 **Devāna[ṁ]piye** ahā [|*] Sātilekāni [a]ḍhā[3]tiyāni

2 vasāni yaṁ hake[4] upāsake [|*] No cha bāḍhiṁ palakate ma[5] [|*] Sātileke

---

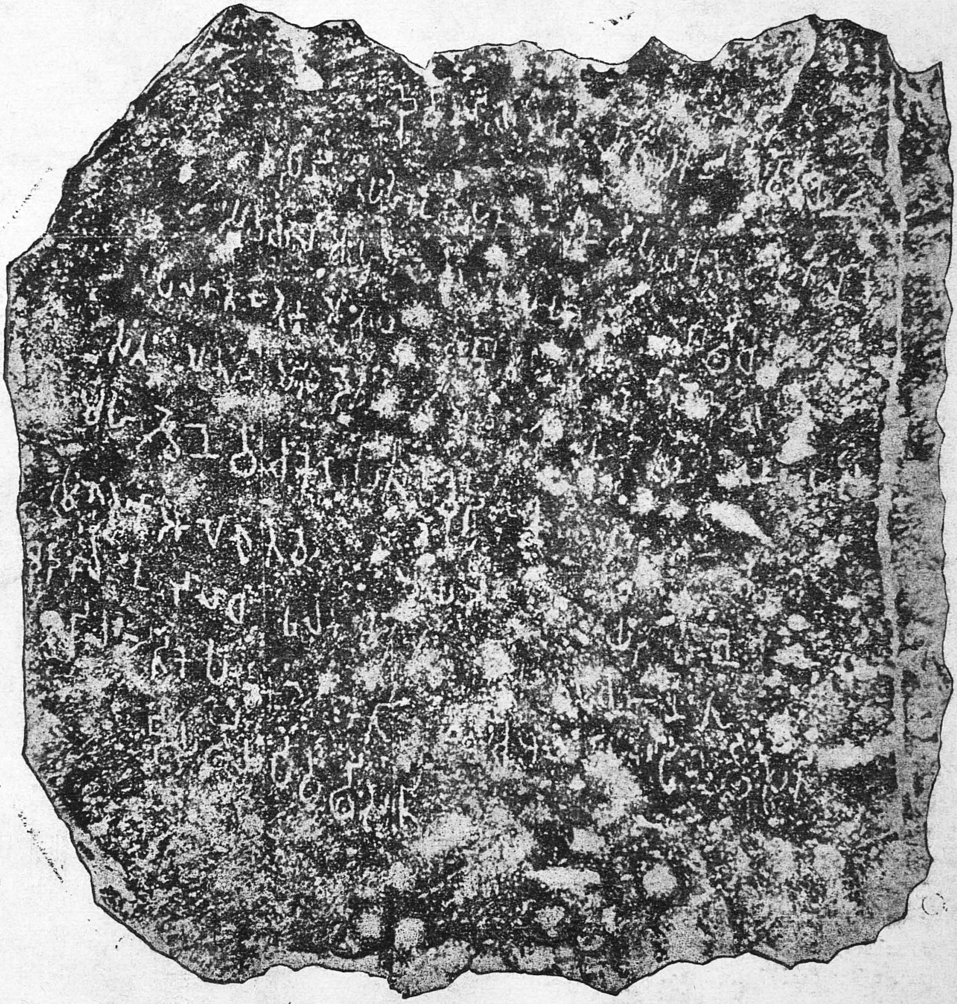
[1] See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 33.

[2] From inked impressions.

[3] *Vā* had been originally engraved and was somehow changed to *ḍhā*.

[4] The upper end of the left limb of the letter is slightly curved to the left and seems to end in a dot.

[5] There appear to be traces of an *akshara* after this letter. The intended reading may be *mē* or *mayā*.



Scale : One-sixth

3 savachhale aṁ hamaye [saṁgha upayatā][1] bāḍhiṁ cha[2]

4 palakaṁte [|*] Etena aṁta[lena] .[3]bu-[dipa]si [ye a]m[i]s[ā] dev[e]h[i][4]

5 saṁtaṁ manūs[a] mis[a] deve[hi][4] [|*][Pa]......[5] [esa] ..[6] [|*] [No cha] esā

6 mahatveneva cha[ke] pāpotave [|*] Khudake[na] p[i] pala ... ne..[7]

7 svage sakā[8] ālādhetave [|*] I[mā]ya a[ṭhāya] iyaṁ sā[va]ne [|*]

8 Khudakā cha uḍālā cha palakamaṁtu [|*] ..[9] [pi] cha [jā]naṁtu [|*]

9 Chilaṭhitike palaka[me] [ho]tī [|*] E .[10] cha aṭhe vipulaṁ pi vaḍhisati

10 diyaḍhiyaṁ pi vaḍhisati [|*]

TRANSLATION

The Beloved of the Gods says :

A little more than two years and a half have passed since I have been an *Upāsaka* (i.e., a lay follower of the Buddha).

But no vigorous exertion [in the cause of Dharma] was made by me [from the time of my initiation].

It is more than a year since I have been devoutly attached[11] to the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church), that vigorous exertion has been made [by me].

Those men, who were unmingled with the gods in Jaṁbu-dvīpa during the past age, have been mixed with the gods.[12]

[This is indeed the result of my exertion]. And this [result] is not to be achieved [only] by the people of superior position.

---

1 The intended reading may be *upayāta*. There is some space between *ya* and *tā* and also after *tā*. It is difficult to say whether a letter was incised between *tā* and *bā*.

2 After this letter, there appear to be traces of two *aksharas* which may be *eta* (Sanskrit *atra* through an intermediate form like *itra*) meaning 'in this matter'. But it is difficult to say whether a word like this was really engraved.

3 The *akshara jaṁ* must have been engraved here. The space between *na* and the expected *jaṁ* appears to be considerable.

4 The traces of about two *aksharas* after this have probably to be ignored.

5 The damaged words are apparently *palakamasa hi*.

6 The damaged word here is *phale*.

7 The damaged word is no doubt *palakamamīnena*. This may have been followed in the original by the words *vipule pi*, though there are no clear traces of the letters.

8 The intended reading seems to be *sake*.

9 The lost *aksharas* are apparently *aṁtā*.

10 The damaged word appears to be *eta*.

11 For the meaning of *upayāta*, etc., see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 161 ff.; also *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 49, note 2, and above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287 ff.

12 Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 49, note 4; also Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 27, note 1.

Even a poor man, who is zealous [in the cause of Dharma], is capable of attaining the [great] heaven.

This declaration is for the [following] purpose. Let [both] the big and the small exert themselves [in the cause of Dharma].

And let even the *Antas* (people of the bordering States) know [about the good results of exertion in the cause of Dharma].

And let exertion [in the cause of Dharma] be everlasting. And this matter (i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma) among the people will increase enormously ; it will increase even to one and half times.

No. 2—TWO GRANTS OF RASHTRAKUTA INDRA III FROM VAJIRKHEDA, SAKA 836

(*2 Plates*)

V. B. Kolte, Nagpur

(*Received on 15.5.1967*)

These grants, called here **A** and **B** for the sake of convenience, were discovered while ploughing his field by Shri Narayanrao Motiram Mali, a farmer at **Vajirkhēḍa**, a village about four miles to the east of Malegaon in the Nasik District. They were secured by Shri N. A. Rahalkar a teacher at Malegaon who sent one of them (Grant **B**) to Dr. M. G. Dikshit, Director of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay, who has very kindly handed it over to me for editing. Grant **A** in the possession of Shri N. M. Mali was secured for me by Shri R. V. Khairnar, Principal, M. S. G. Arts and Science College, Malegaon through Shri Rahalkar. Shri S. R. Desai, Manager, Government Press, Nagpur, supplied excellent estampages of both the grants. I am indebted to all of them. I am also indebted to Shri N. Lakshminarayanrao, Government Epigraphist for India (Retired) and Dr. V. V. Mirashi for their help and advice. I am editing both the grants here from the original plates.[1]

Each grant consists of three copper plates, each plate measuring approximately 35 cm in length and 23.75 cm in width and weighing 4 kg The weight of the seal of Grant **A** is, together with the ring, about 2 kg 400 g and that of the seal with ring of Grant B is 2 kg 600 g. The total weight of Grant **A** together with the ring and the seal is 14 kg and 400 g and that of Grant B is 14 kg and 600 g. The plates are strung together in a circular ring about half an inch thick with a diameter of 7.5 cm. The ends of the rings are soldered into the sockets of a square seal of 7 cm a side. When I received the copper plates, the rings were in tact and had not been cut before. The seals bear on a countersunk surface an image of Garuḍa in relief as the principal figure. He is squatting on a lotus seat; his wings are spread on both sides of his body. He is holding serpents in both hands. The hoods of the serpents are distinctly seen. It seems that he has a sacred thread on his body, but in fact it is a serpent whose hood is held by Garuḍa in his right hand. What looks like an ornament around his neck may be the coil of another serpent whose hood has been held by him in his left hand. Garuḍa faces front and has on his proper right the representation of Gaṇapati in the upper corner, lower down a *chauri* and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is an image of the goddess Durgā, riding on a lion. The legs of the lion are distinctly seen though the mouth has been worn out. Down below the lion is a *chauri*, and a *svastika* in the lower corner. On each side of the head of Garuḍa is a circle, which may be representations of the sun and the moon. Below the squatting Garuḍa is an inscription, a few letters of which are not quite distinct. On the seal of Grant **A** the letters *Śrīman-Nityavarshadēva* are quite clear. In the seal of Grant **B** the second and the third letters can be read as °*manni*° ; and the last five letters can be read as °*varshadēvasya*. The inscription on both the seals can therefore be reconstructed as *Śrīman-Nityavarshadēvasya*. Along the margin of the seals is a border containing various emblems many of which seem to be the weapons of war.

[1] These grants have been published by me in the *Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. XVII, pp. 117-42.

The edges of the plates of each grant are raised into rims for protecting the inscription, which is engraved on the inner sides of the first and the third plates and on both sides of the second plate. All the sides contain 17 lines each except that the first side of the second plate of Grant **A** has only 16 lines, while the third plate of Grant **B** has a few letters engraved at the lower corner on the right. The inscriptions thus run into 67 lines in Grant **A** and 69 lines in Grant **B**. Each line has approximately 40 to 42 letters, the size of each letter being 1·25 cm in height. The engraving is very clear and, except for a few mistakes committed by the engraver, it is quite satisfactory.

The **characters** belong to the Northern class of alphabets. As regards **palaeography** attention may be drawn to some individual forms of letters. (1) The letter *i* is found in lines 8, 17, 19 and 26 ; (2) The form of medial *u* in lines 58 and 60 is denoted by only a line below the *daṇḍa* ; (3) The sign of medial *ā* is generally a vertical *daṇḍa*, but in lines 4,5 etc. it has been denoted by engraving a semicircle at the right end of the headline ; (4) For denoting the *rēpha* a small vertical *daṇḍa* has been engraved on the headline of the letter ; (5) In Grant **A** we come across two forms of *r* (cf. *r* in the word *uttaraḥ* with *r* in *chaturā* in line 59 and also the *r* in °*rasmad* and °*ranyaiḥ* in line 62); (6) Two forms of *kh* also are found in Grant **A** (cf. the *kh* in lines 3, 15 and 29 with *kh* in lines 46, and 67) ; The *kh* in Grant **B** is just like the *kh* in lines 46 and 67 of Grant **A** and is uniform everywhere ; (7) The form of the letter *ñ* in the word *lāñchchhana* (line 2 of both the grants) deserves to be noted ; (8) The form of *v* and *dh* is the same except that *dh* has no head-line ; (9) Similarly the forms of *sh* and *th* are also the same and are likely to be mistaken for the other as in lines 46 and 47 of Grant **B**.

As regards **orthography** the following points may be noted. (1) The letter *v* has been used for *b*, everywhere ; (2) consonants are generally doubled after *r* ; (3) *anusvāra* has been used in place of a *para-savarṇa* in the following words, e.g. *kritālaṁkritā* (line 5 of Grant A), °*aṁchita* and *kāṁchana* (line 32 of Grant **A**, and line 31 of Grant **B**) etc. ; (4) in Grant **B**, *s* has been used for *ś* in *paschimaḥ* (line 63), *vaṁsyaiḥ* (line 66) ; (5) attention may be invited to the conjunct letter *tra* which has been engraved as *ttra* almost everywhere, in both the grants.

The **language** of both the inscriptions is Sanskrit and is generally correct. Special attention may be drawn to the forms of the words *pūrva*, *paśchima*, *dakshiṇa* and *uttara*, in both the grants, which have been used for *pūrvataḥ*, *paśchimataḥ*. etc. as usually found in other inscriptions. The text of the inscriptions in both the grants is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses are not numbered. There are 21 verses in the first 36 lines, the remaining portion being in prose except that lines 64-67 of Grant **A** and lines 67 and 68 of Grant **B** contain the usual imprecatory verses. Grant A contains three such verses while Grant **B** contains only one verse, the others being omitted presumably for want of space. An indirect reference to the omitted verse has been made in Grant **B** saying, "here the meaning of verses of Rāma (should be read)".

Grant **A** registers a gift of two villages to a Jain monastery, Amōgha by name, and the site of the monastery itself to the preceptor Vardhamāna. Grant **B** registers a gift of six villages to the Jain monastery of Uriamma in the city of **Vaḍanēra** and the residential monastery itself to a preceptor named Vardhamāna who is evidently identical with his namesake mentioned as the donee in Grant **A** because both are described as belonging to the prominent Vīragaṇa of the Draviḍa Saṅgha, a sub-section of the Jain religion, and to the *Vīrnnāya*° or *Vīrṇṇāyya-anvaya*.[1] Grant **A** states that this Vardhamāna was the disciple of Lōkabhadra.

[1] Grant A gives this name as *Chīrnnāya* or *Vīrnnāyā* while Grant *B* gives *Chīrṇṇāyya* or *Vīrṇṇāyyā*.

The two grants have been issued by the prosperous **Nityavarshadēva,** the lord of the universe also called Śrīvallabha Narēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the Śrīmad-Akālavarshadēva i.e., his grand-father Krishṇa II. Nityavarshadēva or Śrīvallabha-Narēndradēva is the same as the Rāshṭrakūṭa king **Indra III.** He had gone to **Kurundaka** for the *Paṭṭabandha* festival. On that occasion he ascended the weighing balance and weighed himself against a heap of abundantly lustrous gold and before getting down from the pan he made these grants. He had gone to Kurundaka from his capital **Mānyakhēṭa,** where he was more permanently settled and had, on the auspicious occasion of his *rājyābhishēka,* restored the various lapsed grants of land to the temples and bestowed other 650 holy villages yielding an income of 21 lakhs. The grants were issued on **Friday, when the Nakshatra was Mṛigaśirā, the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-saṁvatsara, in the expired Śaka year 836.** According to S. K. Pillai's Indian Ephemeris the date mentioned in the grants is absolutely correct. It corresponds to the **24th February 915 A.D.**

Only six copper-plate grants of Indrarāja III have been discovered up to this time, viz., (1) Bagumrā plates[1] (First set), (2) Bagumrā plates[2] (Second set), (3) Jāmbgaon plates,[3] (4) Chiñchani plates[4] and (5 and 6) the present Vajirkhēḍa plates **A** and **B**. Except No. 4, the remaining five grants have been issued on one and the same date, i.e. on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-Saṁvatsara, in Śaka 836 as mentioned in both the Bagumrā grants. The Jāmbgaon and Vajirkhēḍa plates, in addition to the above details, have given the *nakshatra* as Mṛigaśīrsha and the day as Friday, the former using the word *Bhṛigu-nandana* and the latter *Śukravāra*. The Chiñchani plates are dated Śaka 848 (926 A.D.).

Of these six grants, five grants, which are dated in Śaka 836 have been issued by Indrarāja III from Kurundaka where he had gone for the performance of the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony after the completion of which he weighed himself in the *tulā* (balance) and made various grants. The Bagumrā and the Jāmbgaon plates say that he ascended the *tulā* after the completion of the ceremony of *paṭṭabandha*. The Vajirkhēḍa plates supply the information that the king ascended the *tulā* for weighing himself against a heap of lustrous gold.

The genealogical draft of both the Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates is generally the same and has been written by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, while the draft of the Vajirkhēḍa plates is quite different from the above and has been written by Rājaśēkhara. Though the draft of the former three grants is generally the same, it cannot be said to be exactly the same. In the genealogical portion of the Bagumrā plates, set No. 1, there are 24 verses while in set No. 2 there are only 23 verses. Verse No. 21 in the former has been omitted in the latter. The Jāmbgaon plates contain 31 verses, out of which, as pointed out by Dr. Mirashi,[5] Nos. 12, 17, 25, 26, 28, 29 and 30 are new. "They contain mere conventional praise and therefore do not add to our historical information". The present plates have an independent genealogical draft describing the events that took place before the accession of Indrarāja III, not referred to at all in the Bagumrā plates.

The new genealogical draft in the present Vajirkhēḍa plates does not include the traditional verse invoking the protection of Vishṇu and Śiva, with which almost all the Rāshṭrakūṭa records begin. We have instead two opening verses in praise of the doctrine of Jina, probably because the grants are issued for donating certain villages to Jain monasteries. The second verse occurs as

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[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 24-41.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 223-38.
[4] Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 45 ff.
[5] Ibid., p. 224.

a *Maṅgala-ślōka* in the *Pramāṇa-saṁgraha* of the famous Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka[1] and has been adopted here, as in many other inscriptions. The first verse has been either composed by the writer of these grants or has been adopted by him from some other work. It is a well-known fact that Amōghavarsha and Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇarāja II), the predecessors of Narēndradēva, were very much influenced by the Jain religion and philosophy. Jinasēna, the author of *Ādipurāṇa* and Mahāvīrāchārya, the author of *Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha*, describe Amōghavarsha as a follower of Jainism.[2] Akālavarsha was educated under the supervision of Guṇachandra, the author of the last five chapters of *Ādipurāṇa*.[3] Indrarāja III also seems to have been generous towards the Jain religion, but it does not mean that he was a follower of the Jaina Dharma. Since the Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates have the opening verse invoking the protection of Vishṇu and Śiva, it is clear that by tradition, he belonged to the Hindu religion.

Verse 3 describes Sōma, i.e., the Moon from whom sprang the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, in which, as verse 4 tells us, was born king Yadu. In his family was born the great god Hari, i.e. Śrīkṛishṇa (verse 5). In this illustrious family was born king Dantidurga (verse 6). From verse 7 we learn that after the death of Dantidurga his paternal uncle Kṛishṇarāja became the king and that he had a son Gōvindarāja by name. His younger brother Nirupama became the king. After him his son Jagattuṅgadēva became the ruler of the earth. His son Amōghavarsha became the king after him.

It is worth noting that both the Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates have omitted the name of Gōvindarāja but the same has been included in verse 7 of the grants under study. But it does not specifically say that he had ascended the throne. Whether Gōvindarāja had actually ascended the throne was a matter of controversy amongst the scholars. It has now been generally accepted on the evidence of the Kaḍabā and Daulatābād plates that this Gōvindarāja II did actually ascend the throne.[4] But he had not much interest in the administration. He abandoned himself to a life of ease and pleasure, entrusting the whole administration to the charge of his younger brother Nirupama (Dhruva) who was very ambitious. There was a fight between Gōvinda II and Nirupama (Dhruva) in which Gōvinda was defeated and dethroned.

Verse 8 tells us that Amōghavarsha was a fire of destruction to the Chālukyas. We learn from history that during the earlier part of Amōghavarsha's reign there were rebellions and consequent chaos in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. The Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya II had attacked, defeated and overrun the country of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. There was a long-drawn war between them but ultimately Amōghavarsha inflicted a signal defeat on the Chālukyas on the battle-field of Viṅgavalli and offered a royal feast to the God of Death.[5] The Bagumrā plates inform us that Amōghavarsha had raised the glory of the Raṭṭa sovereignty immersed in the ocean of Chālukyas by destroying them just as a man burns chickpea plants the stacks of which have been pulled out by the root. By using the word *stambha* with double meaning it has been suggested there that Amōghavarsha had devastasted the town Stambha which was wrongly identified by D. R. Bhandarkar with Tāmralipta—the modern Tāmluk in Midnapur District of Bengal. It was in fact the modern Cumbum in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh which must have been an important city in the possession of the Chālukyas which was devastated by Amōghavarsha.

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[1] *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 111 ff.—"On the Authorship of a *Maṅgala* verse in Inscriptions" by Dr. A. N. Upadhye.

[2] *The Early History of the Deccan*, edited by G. Yazdani, p. 279.

[3] Ibid., p. 285.

[4] A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 49.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249.

From verse 8 we further know that Amōghavarsha had a son, Kṛishṇarāja by name. His queen was the daughter of the king of Chēdi. Her name has not been mentioned. This relationship, though not referred to in the Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates, finds a place in the Sāṅgli[1] and Kardā[2] plates from which we know that the king of Chēdi referred to in this verse was Kōkkala and that his daughter was married to Kṛishṇarāja. Their son was Jagattuṅga. Verse 9 describes how the surviving Gūrjaras whose bodies were disjoined by the powerful stroke of his sword did not leave even now the fever of fear. If we carefully read verses 8 and 9, it will be clear that this description is of the deadly fight of Jagattuṅga against the Gūrjaras. The Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates give a graphic account of the bravery of Kṛishṇarāja II in the war waged by him against the Gūrjaras. They do not refer in any way to the valour displayed by Jagattuṅga, while the Vajirkhēḍa plates do not say anything about Kṛishṇarāja's war against the Gūrjaras but they do describe such a war waged by Jagattuṅga as pointed out above. The Gūrjaras are undoubtedly the Gūrjara-Pratihāras who were ruling at Mahōdaya or Kaṇauj in Northern India. Now the question is whether it was Kṛishṇarāja or Jagattuṅga or both who fought against the Gūrjara-Pratihāras before the date of the present grant, i.e., Śaka 836 (915 A.D.). It may be that both had waged wars against the Gūrjaras at different times during the reign of Kṛishṇarāja II. From the Bagumrā plates[3] of Kṛishṇa of the Gujarat branch we definitely know that Kṛishṇarāja II had engaged the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra army at Ujjain sometime before 888 A.D., and the Kardā grant[4] would show that his son Jagattuṅga, had undertaken another expedition. The reference in verses 16, 18 and 9 of the Bagumrā, Jāmbgaon and Vajirkhēḍa plates respectively to the valour of Jagattuṅga would show that he had taken active part in vanquishing the enemies, particularly the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras as has been recorded in verse 9 of the Vajirkhēḍa plates.

Lakshmī was the queen of Jagattuṅga. Her pedigree has been described in detail in verses 10 and 11. We are told that there was an illustrious king known by the name of Sahasrārjuna in whose family was born Kōkkala, the king of Chēdi, who was an ornament of the Haihaya dynasty. To him was born a son named Śaṅkaragaṇa (verse 10), who has been referred to as Śaṅkuka in verse 11. His wife was the daughter of king Arayamma, the son of Siṁhuka, the ornament of the Chālukya dynasty. This wife of Śaṅkaragaṇa bore a daughter, Lakshmī by name, who became the wife of Jagattuṅga.

The Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates have also described in detail the pedigree of Lakshmī, the wife of Jagattuṅga wherein Śaṅkaragaṇa or Śaṅkuka of the present Vajirkhēḍa plates has been referred to as Raṇavigraha. This lineage of Lakshmī is corroborated by information from the Sāṅgli and Kardā grants. The Sāṅgli plates[5] also give the name of Lakshmī's father as Raṇavigraha, while the Kardā grant[6] mentions him by the name Śaṅkaragaṇa as in the Vajirkhēḍa plates. There is, therefore, no doubt that Śaṅkaragaṇa and Raṇavigraha are one and the same person. As has been pointed out above, he had another name Śaṅkuka, which is apparently a short form of Śaṅkaragaṇa. That his wife hailed from the Chālukya family is known for the first time from the plates under consideration, though it is not possible to identify Siṁhuka and his son Arayamma in the present state of our knowledge.

From the union of Jagattuṅga and Lakshmī was born Indrarāja, the donor of these grants. Verses 13-21 have been devoted to the description of the various qualities and merits of this

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1 Ibid., p. 250.
2 Ibid., p. 265.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 66.
4 Cf. ibid., Vol. XII, p. 265.
5 Cf. ibid., p. 250.
6 Cf. ibid., p. 265.

Indrarāja, most of which are eulogistic and of conventional type. However, special attention may be drawn to verse 16 which gives some new historical information. It is generally believed that after the death of Jagattuṅga the accession of his son Indrarāja was peaceful and without any event,[1] but from this verse we learn that it was not so. This verse tells us that his relations who claimed a share in the patrimony were envious of Indrarāja and therefore could not bear the glowing lustre of him and who themselves were roaming or whirling about by their own faults, had joined together in an adventurous onslaught on the king and ultimately fell a prey to (or were burnt in) the inflamed valour of the king. From verse 17 also we learn that Indrarāja vanquished his enemies and occupied his own throne simultaneously. At the same time he had broken his other enemies also by the mere knitting of his eyebrows and reduced their kingdoms to mere kingdoms of desire (i.e., wishful desires). It was only after this that the earth, like the creeper of desire, fulfilled his wishes.

Verses 18 and 19 describe in glorious terms how his three white umbrellas were shining like his own fame, and how the son of Vinatā, i.e., Garuḍa came to serve on his banner. After these exploits it appears that Indrarāja performed his *rājyābhishēka* ceremony, since verse 20, as has been discussed above, describes in eulogistic words his munificent gifts made on the occasion of the *rājyābhishēka* ceremony. Verse 21 tells us how he himself became entitled to obeisance from all the kings after having made (restored) all the grants towards the enjoyment of the gods (temples) and Brāhmaṇas.

Thereafter follows the prose portion wherein the various *birudas* of the king, which he had acquired by his various deeds, have been mentioned, giving poetic justification for each of them. They are: *Śrīgēyachaturmukhaḥ, Śrīkīrttinārāyaṇaḥ, Śrīmanujattrinēttraḥ, Śrīrājamārttaṇḍaḥ Śrīraṭṭakandarppaḥ,* and *Śrīvikramatuṅgaḥ*. In the following lines thereafter, it has been said that this king Nityavarshadēva, when he had gone to Kurundaka for his *paṭṭabandhōtsava* donated two villages to the Jain monastery, Amōghavasati by name, at **Chandanāpuri** (Grant **A**) and six villages to the Jain monastery, Uriammavasati (*Jvālāmālinī*) by name, in the city of **Vaḍanēra** (Grant **B**).

Special attention may be drawn to the specific references to the *rājyābhishēka* and the *paṭṭabandha* ceremonies in lines 46-47 of Grant **A** and lines 45-46 of Grant **B**. The Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates do not mention the *rājyābhishēka* ceremony specifically anywhere, but our Vajirkhēḍa grants do mention it in verse 20 and the lines referred to above, wherein they mention the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony also. Verse 20 of the Vajirkhēḍa grants describes that the munificent gifts on the occasion of the *rājyābhishēka* ceremony were made by the king without anger, without delay and without proud and thunderous announcements. Lines 46-49 of Grant **A** and 45-48 of Grant **B** would mean that on the occasion of the *rājyābhishēka* ceremony, the king, in order to increase the religious merit and the fame, both in this world as well as in the next, of his parents and himself, had restored the grants to the temples which were confiscated or already lapsed and had offered 650 additional villages with an income of 21 lakhs. From his capital Mānyakhēṭa, where he had been more permanently settled, he had gone to Kurundaka for the performance of the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, on which occasion he is said to have granted two villages according to Grant **A** and six villages according to Grant **B** to two Jaina monasteries. This would show that the *rājyābhishēka* and *paṭṭabandha* ceremonies are quite distinct and, therefore, should not be confused with each other. The *rājyābhishēka* ceremony must have been performed at the capital Mānyakhēṭa sometime before he had gone to Kurundaka for the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony. The date of the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, which was performed on Friday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in Śaka 836 should not therefore be taken as the date of his accession, as has been done by some scholars. The latest known date of Kṛishṇa II is Śaka 834 (912 A.D.)[2] and, therefore, it may

[1] A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 100.
[2] Ibid., p. 99.

safely be inferred that Indrarāja III ascended the throne sometime after Śaka 834 and before Śaka 836 (915 A.D.).

In this connection attention may be invited to some of the exploits of Indrarāja III described in the Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon grants. His most important victory was the extermination of the Bāṇa king Vijyāditya II *alias* Prabhumēru, described in verses *Sa jayati bhujadaṇḍasaṁśrayaśrīḥ*, etc. and *Kṛitagōvardhanōddhāraṁ*, etc. occurring in these grants. It is said that Indrarāja III had won this victory when he was *Yuvarāja* and this invasion must have taken place towards the close of the reign of his grandfather Krishṇa II, for it is mentioned in the charters issued by Indra on the occasion of his coronation, i.e., in the very first year of his reign.[1] If it was really so, this important victory should have gone to the credit of Krishṇa II and should have been referred to in his grants. But since it has been described in the grants issued by Indrarāja III, this important event must have taken place during his reign as the king and therefore, must go to the credit of Indrarāja III himself. If the distinction between the words *rajyābhishēka* and *paṭṭabandhōtsava* is borne in mind this would be quite clear. The Vajirkhēḍa plates do refer to both these ceremonies specifically and describe the various gifts and grants made by Indrarāja on both the occasions separately.

The donee of both these grants is a Vardhamāna by name. Both belong to the *Vī(Chī)rṇṇāyya-anvaya* of the Vīragaṇa in the Draviḍa Saṅgha. The donee Vardhamāna of Grant **A** is described as a disciple of Lōkabhadra in the family of *Vī(Chī)rnnāya-anvaya* while the donee Vardhamāna of Grant **B** has been described only as a disciple on the throne of the *Vīrṇṇāyya-anvaya.* Virṇṇāyya can be read as Chīrṇṇāyya also, but it appears to be a mistake of the engraver and there seems to be no doubt that Vīrnnāya and Vī(Chī)rṇṇāyya refer to one and the same family. So also, in all probability, both Vardhamānas are one and the same person. It seems that he was the preceptor of both the Jaina monasteries, one in Chandanāpuri city and the other in Vaḍanēra, the first being known by the name Amōgha and the other Uriamma. I could not find the names of these Jaina monasteries mentioned anywhere.

The followers of Jain religion, on account of difference of opinion in respect of wearing garments, were first divided into three sections, e.g., Digambara, Śvētāmbara and Yāpanīya. Afterwards the Digambara Jains were again subdivided into independent *saṅghas*. Draviḍa-saṅgha is one of them. According to Āchārya Dēvasēna, this saṅgha was founded by Vajranandi, the disciple of Pūjyapāda, in 469 A.D. The followers of Draviḍa-saṅgha stayed in monasteries and temples, received land grants, ploughed farms and subsisted on earnings from them. This is why they were denounced by the puritan Digambara ascetics. The *saṅgha* acquired its name from the name of the country, where it was established. The *saṅgha* was further divided into *gaṇas*, each *gaṇa* was again divided into *anvayas* (families). In our records we find a reference to the Vīrṇṇāyya-anvaya belonging to the Vīragaṇa of the Draviḍa-saṅgha—probably for the first time in the copper-plate records discovered in Maharashtra. I could not trace the names of the Vīragaṇa and its Vīrṇṇāyya-anvaya, neither could I find the names of the preceptors Lōkabhadra and Vardhamāna. Probably this information is coming to light for the first time and would be valuable to scholars of Jain history, especially of the Draviḍa-saṅgha.

From our records we can definitely say that the Jain ascetics of the Draviḍa-saṅgha had migrated and settled in the Nasik district of Maharashtra even before 915 A.D., the date of issue of the grants. They received patronage and donations from the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. The Amōgha monastery at Chandanāpuri (Grant **A**) may have been named after king Amōghavarsha from whom it may have received grants formerly. The name of the other monastery at Vaḍanēra was Uriamma

[1] Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 231.

(Grant **B**) which is a Kannaḍa name for Jvālāmālinī, the *yakshiṇī* devotee of *Tīrthaṅkara* Chandraprabha. This would show that the followers of Draviḍa-saṅgha used to worship the *yakshiṇīs* also.

The undated Kalvaṇa[1] grant issued during the reign of the Mālava king Bhōja I would show that the Śvētāmbara Jains had also their monastery at Muktāpalli in the *Audrahādi vishaya* somewhere near Kalvaṇa in the present Nasik District.

The donations of the villages granted to both the monasteries were inclusive of certain taxes usually recovered by the residents and exclusive of certain taxes usually recovered by the government. However, the word *achāṭabhaṭa-pravēśa* which occurs in Grant **A** has been omitted in Grant **B**. This omission may have been through inadvertence. Otherwise it would mean that the police and military warriors had a right to enter the six villages donated according to Grant **B** and recover articles of amenities and money required by them. But since the villages had been donated to a Jain monastery, this does not seem to be possible. The omission of the word in Grant **B** must have been therefore, through inadvertence only.

Mānyakhēṭa, the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas has been identified with modern Malkhēḍ in the Gulbarga District, Mysore State. The place Kurundaka where the king had gone for his *paṭṭabandha* was identified by R. G. Bhandarkar with Kadōda on the bank of Tāpi. A. M. T. Jackson proposed to identify it with Kurundavāḍa and this identification is accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar and A. S. Altekar. Dr. V. V. Mirashi suggests that "if Kurundaka was situated near Paithan, as appears from the present grant (i.e., Jāmbgaon plates) it may have been near the confluence of the Pravarā and the Gōdāvarī (Pravarā-saṅgama) which is regarded as very holy. In that case, Kurundaka may be represented by Kaigaon near Pravarā-saṅgama."[2]

The search for Kurundaka near about the findspots of the grants or the donated villages will not be very helpful because all the five grants of Indrarāja III have been issued from Kurundaka, while their findspots and the donated villages are spread over in Gujarāt, Marāthvāḍā and Nasik District. Very often the royal camp where the grants were made is far removed from the villages donated. Kurundaka may not be far away from the capital place Mānyakhēṭa. There is a village Kurundā in the Basmath Taluk in Parbhani District, in Maharashtra, which is only at a distance of a few miles from Malkhēḍ. It is only three miles away from the bank of the holy river Gōdāvarī. I would propose to identify the modern Kurundā with the ancient Kurundaka. The change in the form of the place name Kurundaka to Kurundā is natural and phonetically justified. The Jain monasteries at Jintūr and other places round about the modern Kurundā may also be an additional evidence in support of this identification.

As for the localities mentioned in Grant **A**, **Chandanāpuri** where the Amōgha monastery was situated is the present Chandanpuri on the south bank of the Girṇā river, about two miles to the south of Mālēgaon, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Nasik District. **Māladaha** the first donated village in the territorial division **Pāḍalābaddha-84** may be the present Maldhā two miles to the south-east of Mālēgaon, on the north bank of the Girṇā and Pāḍalābaddha may be identified with the present Padaladā about twelve miles north-east of Maldhā. **Chiñchavalli,** which formed its eastern boundary, can be identified with Chinchagavāṇa about ten miles to the east of Maldhā. The **Giriparṇṇā** river which formed its western and southern boundaries is undoubtedly the present Girṇā river. The **Māhuli-grāma** on the northern boundary may in all probability be the modern Mālēgaon.

The second village donated to the monastery was **Pāriyāla,** near **Sīhapuri.** It may be identified with Pārala now situated in the Vaijapur Taluk of Aurangabad District, which is about

[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XXXVI, p. 232.

two miles away on the eastern bank of the Mānyāda river, mentioned as river **Maṇiyāḍā** the western boundary. Sīhapura may be the modern Siūr about eight miles to the east of Pārala. The village **Nimba-grāma** which formed the eastern boundary is the present Nimgaon about five miles to the east of Pārala and the northern boundary village **Bhaddāvalli** can be identified with the present Bhādli which lies about four miles to the north of Pārala.

As regards the localities in Grant **B** the **Vaḍanēra** town, where the Uriamma Jain monastery was situated, may be identified with the present Vaḍner situated on the northern bank of the river Mōsam at a distance of about fifteen miles to the north-west of Mālēgaon. The donated villages are : (1) **Ruddāṇa** in the territorial division **Raṅkāṇa-24.** Its boundaries as given in the grant are **Rudragiri** to the east and south, the village **Vārivāhalā** to the west, and river **Mōsini** to the north. The river Mōsinī may be identified with the river Mōsam on the bank of which Vaḍner, the place of this Jain monastery was situated. Raṅkāṇa-24, cannot be traced. Ruddāṇa may be identified with the present Uttrān, about ten miles to the north-west of Vaḍner. The only difficulty in this identification is that Ruddāṇa is mentioned as situated on the south bank of Mōsiṇi, while the village Uttrān is on the northern bank of the Mōsam. It may be due to the windings and change of the course of the river during a period of about one thousand years. Such change of the course of rivers is found elsewhere too. But there can be no doubt that the villages Ruddāṇā and Raṅkāṇa must be somewhere there since, as would be seen below, the third donated village Tuṅgōṇī with its boundaries can be identified beyond doubt in the same locality. The village Vārivāhala said to be to the west and the mountain Rudragiri to the east and south of Ruddāṇa cannnot be traced. Rudragiri may be the name of the mountain at the foot of which the village was situated. (2) The second donated village was **Dhannaüra** in the territorial division **Chhaṭṭhiyāna-32.** Its boundaries were : **Antaravallī** village to the east, **Giriparṇṇī** river to the south, **Phēñcha-grāma** to the west and **Talavāḍa-grāma** to the north. Giriparṇṇī is undoubtedly the present Girṇā river. The northern boundary village Talavāḍa is the present Talwāḍa about seven miles south of Vaḍner and ten miles to the west of Mālēgaon. The donated village Dhannaüra may, therefore, be identified with Dhannara about five miles to the south of Talwāḍa. It is situated on the northern bank of the river Girṇā. Chhaṭṭhiyāna, Phēñcha and Antaravallī cannot be traced. (3) The third donated village was **Tuṅgōṇī** in the territorial division **Raṅkāṇa-24.** Tuṅgōṇī is the present Tuṅgāṇa in the Baglan Taluk of the Nasik District on the bank of a small river which may have been known by the name Tuṅgabhadrā, mentioned in the grant as the southern boundary of Tuṅgōṇi. The eastern boundary village **Daśabhōïyali** may be the present Dashwel, one mile to the east of Tuṅgāṇa and the northern boundary village **Katarvalli** can be identified with the modern Katarwela, two miles to the north of Tuṅgāṇa. The western boundary **Sāviṇivāḍa** cannnot be traced. It may be a small hill, as is suggested from the use of the word *vāḍa* which in fact may be *pāḍa.* (4) The fourth donated village is **Ajjalōṇī** in the *vishaya* (District) of **Vaṭanagara,** with **Nīla-grāma** to the east, **Talavāḍa-grāma** to the south, **Ḍōṅgaragrāma** to the west and **Mōsinī** river to the north. The district place (*vishaya*) Vaṭanagara may be the present Vaḍner, on the bank of the Mōsam river which may be the same as the Mōsinī river which formed the northern boundary of Ajjalōṇī. Nīla-grāma may be the present Neelagawān on the bank of the Mōsam, and just near Vajirkhēḍa, the findspot of the grants. The other boundary villages cannot be traced.

Fortunately there is a reference to some of the above places in the Pimpari plates[1] of Dhārāvarsha Dhruvarāja, dated Śaka 697 (775 A.D.). In those plates a village named Līlā-grāma in Vaṭanagarika-84 division was donated. Boundaries of Līlā-grāma as mentioned in the plates

[1] Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 81-89.

are: Laghu-ḍējrāra-khēṭaka to the east, Talāpāṭaka-grāma to the south, Ajjalōṇi-grāma to the west and the river Mōsiṇī to the north. The village Ajjalōṇi of the Pimpari plates is certainly the same Ajjalōṇī donated in our grant **B.** The northern boundary river Mōsiṇī is the same which formed the northern boundary of Ajjalōṇī in our grant. Līlā-grāma which has been identified by G. K. Chandorkar with Nīlagavāṇa is the same as the Nīla-grāma in our plates. Chandorkar has identified Vaṭanagarika with Wani in the Nasik District, which does not seem to be correct. It appears to be the same Vaṭanagara referred to in our present records as a *vishaya* (District) in which Ajjalōṇi was situated. Talāpāṭaka-grāma in the Pimpari plates is certainly the Talavāḍa-grāma in our plates. The real proper name of the eastern boundary village Laghu-ḍējrāra-khēṭaka[1] may be Ujrāra-khēṭaka only. I would identify it with Vajirkhēḍa, the findspot of our grants, which is just two miles to the east of Nīlagavāṇa.

(5) The fifth donated village is **Chanduhāṇa** in the territorial division **Ruddāṇa-12** with the boundary village **Aggavalliyāṇa** to the east, **Amiyārā** river to the south, **Kanhaināṇa** village to the west and **Vaṭṭāra** to the north. Chanduhāṇa may be identified with the present Chaundhāne, in the Baglan Taluk of the Nasik District, about six miles north west of Satānā. Amiyārā may be the modern Ārāma river. Kanhaināṇa may be the modern Kandhāne, about 2 miles to the west of Chaundhāne. Vaṭṭāra may be the present Vāthār, one mile to the north. The village Aggavalliyāṇa cannot be traced. Ruddāṇa, the chief village of the territorial division may be identified with Uttrāṇē about 15 miles to the north-west of Vaḍner. (6) The sixth donated village is **Divāra-grāma** in the territorial division of **Udvalaüla,** which may be identified with the modern Udhrula, about seven miles to the south of the Taluk place Chandavad in Nasik District. Divāra-grāma may be the present Dēvargaon about three miles south-west of Udhrula and ten miles to the east of Vaḍner in the same Taluk. **Pippalavadda** the boundary village to the east, may be the present Pimpalāda about three miles to the east, situated on the bank of the Pimplād river. The southern boundary village **Sīha-grāma** cannot be traced. The western boundary **Vaḍāli-khatrā** may be the dry bed of Vadāli-rālā about one and a half miles to the west of Dēvargaon. The northern boundary village **Bhōrā-grāma** may be identified with the present Bhōyagaon, two miles to the north of Dēvargaon.

The writer of the panegyric in both the grants is one **Rājaśēkhara.** Whether he was the same as the well-known poet Rājaśēkhara, the author of the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, cannot be said with certainty. It may be possible, the approximate period of Rājaśēkhara's life being 855-930 A.D. He was at the royal court of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla who died in about 910 A.D. After him there was chaos in his kingdom. The country was invaded by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indrarāja III. Rājaśēkhara is said to have left Kanauj and stayed with the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva who ruled during 910-50 A.D. where he wrote his *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā.* It may be that after the victory of Indrarāja III over Kanauj and the temporary exile of king Mahīpāla, Rājaśēkhara had gone to the royal court of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and stayed with Indrarāja III where he might have composed this panegyric of Indrarāja III, which has been adopted in the Vajirkhēḍa plates. From there he might have gone to Yuvarājadēva, the king of the Kalachuri dynasty at Tripurī. The close relations between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Chēdis during this period would strengthen this surmise.

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[1] I would read the place name as *Laghu-ujrāra-khēṭaka* instead of *Laghu-ḍējrāra-khēṭaka.* It may be noticed that the letter which has been read by K. B. Pathak as *ḍē* has a loop to the left at the lower end, which we do not find in any sign of *ḍa* in the record. Compare the *ḍa* in *ṇḍa* (line 6), *ṇḍe* (lines 12 and 22) and *ḍa* line 28). The letter can therefore be read only as *u.*

Grant A

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Indravaṁśā* ; verse 2, 9, 14, 15, 22, 23 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 16-21 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 6 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 7, 12, 13 *Sragdharā* ; verse 24 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति[2] [।*] श्रियः पदन्नित्यमशेषगोव(च)रन्नयप्रमाणप्रतिषिद्धदुष्पथम् [।*] जनस्य भव्यत्वसमाहितात्मनो जयत्यनुग्राहि जि-

2 नेन्द्रशासनम् ॥[१॥*] श्रीमत्परमगम्भीरस्याद्वादामोघलाञ्च्छनम् । जीयात्त्रैलोक्य-नाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनम् ॥[२॥*] अ-

3 स्त्यद्यापि निशामुखैकतिलको राजेति नामोज्व(ज्ज्व)लम् वि(बि)भ्राणो मृदुभिः करैर्जगदिदं यो राजते रञ्जयन् [।*] यस्यै-

4 कापि कला कलङ्करहिता गङ्गेव तुङ्गे जटाजूटे धूर्जटिना धृतामृतमयी सोमः स किं वर्ण्ण्यते ॥ [३॥*] वंशे तस्य पुरू-

5 रवः प्रभृतिभिर्भूपैः कृतालंकृतावन्तःसारतयोन्नतिं गतवति प्राप्ते च वृद्धिं क्रमात् [।*] तुङ्गानामपि भूभृतामु-

6 परिगे(गो) जातो यदुर्भूपतिः यः कृत्वा कुलमात्मनामविदितं पूर्व्वान्विजिग्ये नृपान् [४॥*] तस्मिन्विस्मयकारिचारुचरि-

7 ते तस्यान्वये संभवम् मत्वा श्लाध्यतमं पितामहमुखैरभ्यर्थितो नाकिभिः [।*] कल्पान्तेपि निजोदरान्तरदरीविश्रा-

8 न्तसप्तार्ण्णवश्चक्रे जन्म हरिर्जितामररिपुः साक्षात्स्वयं श्रीपतिः ॥[५॥*] इत्थ हरेः प्रसरति प्रथि-

9 ते पृथिव्यामव्याकुलं वरकुले कलितप्रतापः [।*] निर्मूलिताहितमहीपतिभूरिदुर्गः पृथ्वीपतिः

10 पृथुसमोजनि दन्तिदुर्गः ।[।६॥*] जेतुं तस्मिन्प्रयाते त्त्रिदिवमिव ततः कृष्णराजो नरेन्द्रः तस्यैवा-

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[1] From the original and the impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

11 सीत्पितृव्य: समजनि तनयस्तस्य गोविन्दराजो(ज:) [।*] राजा तस्यानुजोभून्नि-
रुपमनृपति: श्रीजगत्तुङ्गदेव: ।।[1]

12 सूनुस्तस्यावनीशोभवदवनिपतिस्तत्सुतोमोघवर्ष: [।।७।।*] तस्मादिन्दुकरावदातयशसश्चालुक्य-
कालानलात् ले-

13 भे जन्म हिमांशुवंशतिलक: श्रीकृष्णराजो नृप: ।।(।) राज्ञी तस्य च
चेदिराजतनया च्छत्त्रत्त्रयाधीश्वरा जाता भूमि-

14 पतेर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव च जगत्तुङ्गस्तयोरात्मज: ।।[८।।*] यस्याद्यापि प्रचण्डासिपात-
विश्लिष्टविग्रहा: [।*] हृतशेषा विमुंचन्ति गूर्ज-

15 रा न भयज्वरम् ।।छ।। [९।।*] आसीद्वा(द्वा)हुसहस्रसेतुविहतव्यावृत्तरेवाजल:
क्षोणीशो दशकण्ठदर्प्पदलन: ख्यात:

16 सहस्रार्जुन: ।।(।) वंशे तत्र च हैहयैकतिलकश्चेदीश्वर: कोक्कलो जातस्तस्य
सुतश्च शंकरगण: शंकाकरो विद्विषां(षाम्) [।।१०।।*]

17 चालुक्यान्वयमण्डनस्य नृपते: श्रीसिंहुकस्यात्मजो राजासीदरयम्म इत्यनुपमस्तस्यात्म-
जायामभूत् ।।(।)

Second Plate, First Side

18 लक्ष्मी: क्षीरमहार्ण्णवादिव सुता लक्ष्मीस्तत: शंकुकात् देवी सा च
पराक्रमोर्जितजगत्तुङ्गस्य कान्ताभवत् ।। [११।।*] तस्या-

19 स्तस्मात्तनूजो मदन इव हरे स्कन्दवच्चन्द्रमौलेरिन्दु: क्षीराम्वु(म्बु)राशेरिव
विमलयशोराशिशुक्लीकृताश: [।*] धातु: सौ-

20 न्दर्य्यसृष्टिव्यतिकरजनितानूनविज्ञानसेतु: पृथ्व्या: पुण्यातिरेकै: सुकृतनिधिरभूदिन्द्रराजो
नरेन्द्र: ।।[१२।।*] वे-

21 धा विज्ञानदर्प्पं विवु(बु)धपतिरपि स्वाधिपत्यैकदर्प्पं भूभाराधारदर्प्पं फणिपति-
रधिकं शत्रव: शौर्य्यदर्प्पङ्क(र्प्पम् । क)-

22 न्दर्प्पो रूपदर्प्पं भुवि सममुच(चन्) यं विलक्षा: समक्षं दृष्ट्वा दृष्टान्तकल्पं
सकलगुणगणस्यैकमेवावनीशम्[2] ।।[१३।।*]

23 न सर्व्वगुणसंदोहमेकस्थं कुरुते विधि: [।*] यन्निम्मर्यिेति निर्मृष्टस्तेन दोषश्चि-
रादयम् ।।[१४।।*] समर्प्पितकराम्भोधि-

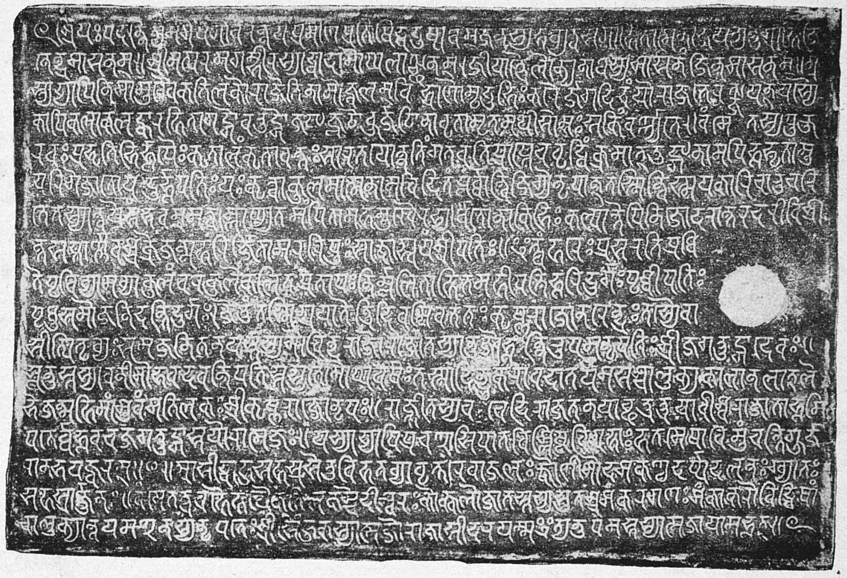
[1] The *dandas* are unnecessary.

[2] The final *m* is written outside the margin.

TWO GRANTS OF RASHTRAKUTA INDRA III FROM VAJIRKHEDA, SAKA 836

Grant A

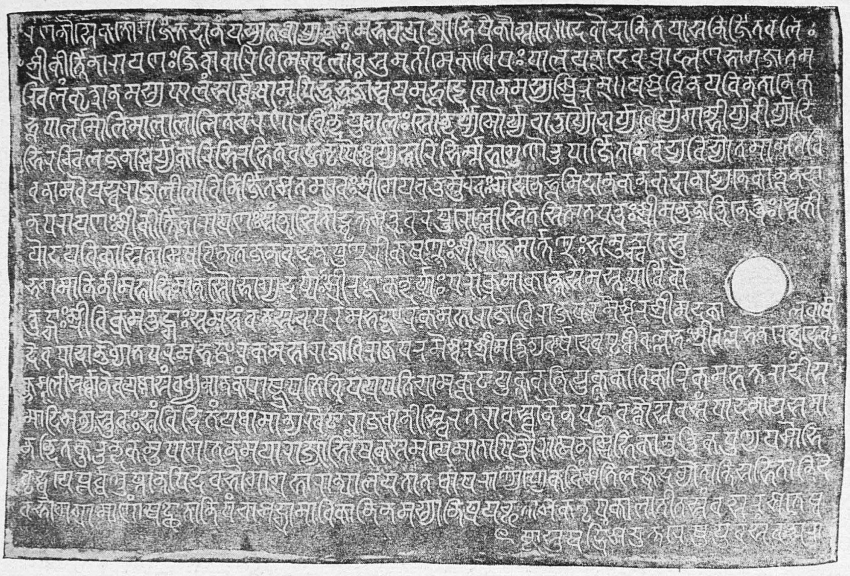
i



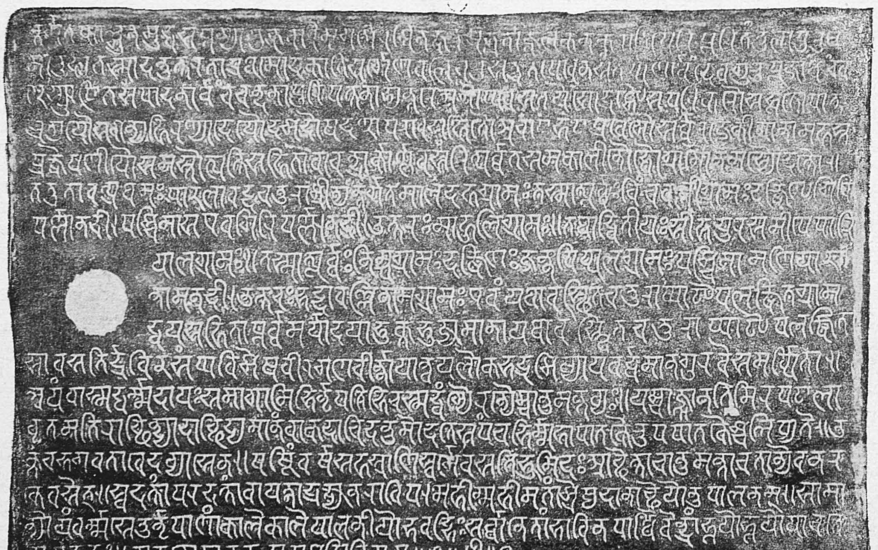
ii, a

G. S. Gai

ii, b



iii



Scale : Seven-twentieths

24 वेलामालावलम्वि(म्बि)नी । यन्निरस्तान्यभूपाला:(ला) स्वयं वृतवती मही ॥[१५॥*] तेजो वीक्षितुमक्षमा: क्षणमपि स्वैरे-

25 व दोषैर्म्मुहुर्भ्रान्ता: सन्ततमक्रमेण सहसा संगम्य सर्व्वेप्यमी । व्यालोलाश्चलपक्षपातवि-

26 कला दीप्रप्रतापानले दायादा: स्वयमेव यस्य पतिता दीपे पतंगा इव ॥[१६॥*] आक्रान्तं सम-

27 मेव शत्रुशिरसा येन स्वसिंहासनम् भू(भ्रू)भंगेन सहैव भंगमपरे नीता: परं विद्विष: [।*] तेषां

28 राज्यमपि क्षणाच्चलमनोराज्यावशेपं(षं) कृतं राज्ये कल्पलतेव कामफलदा यस्याभवन्मेदिनी ॥[१७॥*] भूभारोद्व-

29 हने जित: फणिपति: शक्र: श्रिया निर्जित: कीर्त्ति: क्रान्तदिगन्तरा मलिनिता येनाखिलक्ष्माभृताम् ॥[।*] त्रैलो-

30 क्येपि न विद्यतेस्य सदृशो राजेति यस्योच्चकैराभाति प्रकटीकृतं यश इव श्वेतातपत्रत्रयम् ॥[१८॥*] निर्भिन्नं नर-

31 सिंहतां गतवता वक्षोमुना विद्विषम्(षां) देवोयं विततस्वचक्रदलिताराातिश्रियाप्याश्रित: [।*] तत्सेवेहममुं ध्वजा-

32 ग्रनिलयो राजानमित्याश्रितो रागादंचितकांचनोज्व(ज्ज्व)लतनुर्य्यं वैनतेय[:*] स्वयम् ॥[१९॥*] दानं भद्रगज: सृजन्न-

33 पि रुषा कृष्णं करोत्याननं सद्वृक्षोपि फलप्रद: स्वसमये वर्षन्घनो गर्जति [।*] न क्रोधोद्वहनं न कालह-

Second Plate, Second Side

34 रणं नोत्सेकतो गर्जितं दानं यस्य तथाप्यनूनमभवद्राज्याभिषेकोत्सवे ॥[२०॥*] देवो दानितया स निर्जितव(ब)लि:

35 श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायण: जित्वा वारिधिमेखलां वसुमतीमेकाधिप: पालयन् [।*] देवव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभोगजातम-

36 खिलं कृत्रा(त्वा) नमस्य(स्यं) फलं सर्व्वेषामपि भूभुजां स्वयमभूद्देवो नमस्यश्चिरम् ॥[२१॥*] यश्च विनयविनतानेक-

37 भूपालमौलिमालालालितचरणारविन्दयुगल: सौन्दर्य्यशौर्य्यचातुर्य्यौदार्य्यधैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यवीर्य्यादि-

38 भिरखिलजनाश्चर्य्यकारिभिरहितव (ब) हुनृपैश्वर्य्यहारिभिर्म्महागुणैरुपार्जितानवद्यविद्योत-
मानविवि-

39 धनामधेय[:*] स्वराज्यलीलाविनिर्जितशतमख: श्रीगेयचतुर्मुख: गोदानभूमिदानकनक-
दानाद्यनेकानूनदा-

40 नपरायण: श्रीकीर्तिनारायण: संत्रासितोद्वृत्तशत्रुवरपुरोल्लासितसितातपत्र:
श्रीमनुजत्रिनेत्र: । स्वकी-

41 योदयविकासिताशेषविनतजनवदनपुण्डरीकषण्ड: श्रीराजमार्तण्ड: समुत्खातसु-

42 भगमानिनीमहाभिमानसौभाग्यदर्प्प: श्रीरट्टकन्दर्प्प: पराक्रमाक्रान्तसमस्तपार्थिवो-

43 त्तुङ्ग: श्रीविक्रमतुङ्ग: समभवत(त्) [।।*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्ष-

44 देवपादानुध्यो (ध्या) तपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभ:
श्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेव:

45 कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंव (ब) ध्यमानकां (कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूट[ा]-
युक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीं (दीन्) स-

46 मादिशत्यस्तु व: संविदितं यथा मान्यखेटराजधानीस्थिरतरावस्थानेन पट्टव (ब)-
न्धोत्सवसंपादनाय समा-

47 नन्दितकुरुन्दकमुपागतेन मया राज्याभिषेकसमये मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुत्रिक-
पुण्ययशोभि-

48 वृद्धये पूर्व्वलुप्तानपि देवभोगाग्रहारान्पालयता तथापराण्यप्येकविंशतिलक्षद्रव्यो[1]त्पत्ति-
सहितानि दे-

49 वभोगग्रामाणां षट्छतानि पंचाशद्ग्रामाधिकानि नमस्यानि प्रयच्छता शकनृप-
कालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्व-

50 [2]ष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरा-

[1] The Bagumrā and Jāmbgaon plates use the word द्रम्म.

[2] This line, beginning with the symbol ᔕ, is engraved on the proper left side of the plate.

Third Plate

51 न्तर्गतफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां शुक्रवारे मृगशिरसि नक्षत्रे प्रभूतोज्व(ज्ज्व)लकनक-
राशिपरिपूरितं तुलापुरुष-

52 मारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता प्रथमोदकातिसर्गेण व(ब)लिचरुसत्त्रतपोधनसंतर्प्पणार्थं देवगुरु-
पूजार्थं ख-

53 ण्डस्फुटितसंपादनार्थं च चन्दनापुरिपत्तनाभ्यन्तरे अमोघवसतये सोद्रङ्गौ सपरिकरौ
सभूतोपात्त-

54 प्रत्ययौ सधान्यहिरण्यादेयौ दशदोषदण्डापराधसहितौ अचाटभटप्रवेशौ सर्व्वराजकी-
यानामहस्त-

55 प्रक्षेपणीयौ समस्तोत्पत्तिसहितो(ता)वाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनौ द्वौ ग्रामौ
नमस्यौ दत्तौ ।।

56 तत्र तावत्प्रथमः पाडलावद्द(बद्ध)चतुरा(र)श्री(शी)त्यन्तर्गतमालदहग्रामः तस्मात्पूर्व्वः
[चिं]चवल्लीग्रामः दक्षिणा गिरि-

57 पर्ण्णी[1] नदी । पश्चिमा स(सा) एव गिरिपर्ण्णी नदी । उत्तरः माहुलिग्रामः ।
तथा द्वितीयः सीहपुरसमीपे पारि-

58 यालग्रामः ।। तस्मात्पूर्व्वः निम्व(म्ब)ग्रामः दक्षिणः जन्नपिप्पलग्रामः पश्चिमा
मणियाडा

59 नाम नदी । उत्तरः भद्दावल्लिनामग्रामः [।।*] एवं यथावस्छि(स्थि)तचतुरा-
घाटोपलक्षितग्राम-

60 द्वयसहिता पूर्व्वमर्यादया भुक्तभुज्यमाना यथावस्थितचतुराघाटोपलक्षिता

61 सा वसतिर्द्रविडसंघविशेषवीरगण[ची]न्नर्यान्वयलोकभद्रशिष्याय वद्धमानगुरवे
समर्पिता ।

62 अयं चास्मद्धर्म्मदायः समागामिभिर्भूपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्चानुमन्तव्यः ।। यश्चाज्ञान-
तिमिरपटला-

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[1]This name occurs as गिरिपर्ण्णी in grant B.

63 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वा कदाचिदनुमोदते स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैरुप-पातकैश्च लिप्यते ।। उ-

64 क्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन ।। षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नर-

65 के वसेत् ।।[२२।।*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष्य(क्ष) नराधिप । महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ।।[२३।।*] सामा-

66 न्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [।*] सर्व्वानेतां(तान्) भाविन[:*] पार्थिवेन्द्रां(न्द्रान्) भूयो भूयो याचते

67 रामभद्रः ।।[२४।।*] राजशेखरकृता प्रशस्तिरियम् ।। ७।। श्री ।।

Grant B

TEXT[1]

Third Plate[2]

52 वडनेरपत्तने उरिअम्मवसतये सोद्रङ्गाः सपरिकराः सभूतोपात्तप्रत्ययाः सधान्य-हिरण्यादेयाः दशदोष-

53 दण्डापराधसहिताः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयाः समस्तोत्पत्तिसहिता आचन्द्रा-कार्ण्णवसरित्पर्व्वत-

54 समकालीना षट् ग्रामा नमस्या दत्ताः ।। तत्र तावत्प्रथमः रंकाणचतुर्व्विङ्श (र्विंश)त्यन्तर्गतरुद्दाणग्रामः तस्मात्पूर्व्वः रुद्रगि-

55 रिपादः दक्षिणः स एव रुद्रगिरिः पश्चिमः वारिवाहलाग्रामः उत्तरा[3] मोसिनी नदी ।। तथा द्वितीयः छड्डियानद्वात्रिं-

56 शा(श)[त्य*]न्तर्गतधन्नउरग्रामः तस्मात्पूर्व्वः अन्तरवल्लीग्रामः दक्षिणा गिरिपर्ण्णी नदी । पश्चिमः फेंचग्रामः उत्तरः तल-

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[1] From the originals and impressions.

[2] The first two plates bearing lines, 1 to 51 contain the same text as in grant A with a little variation at the beginning and the end of each line.

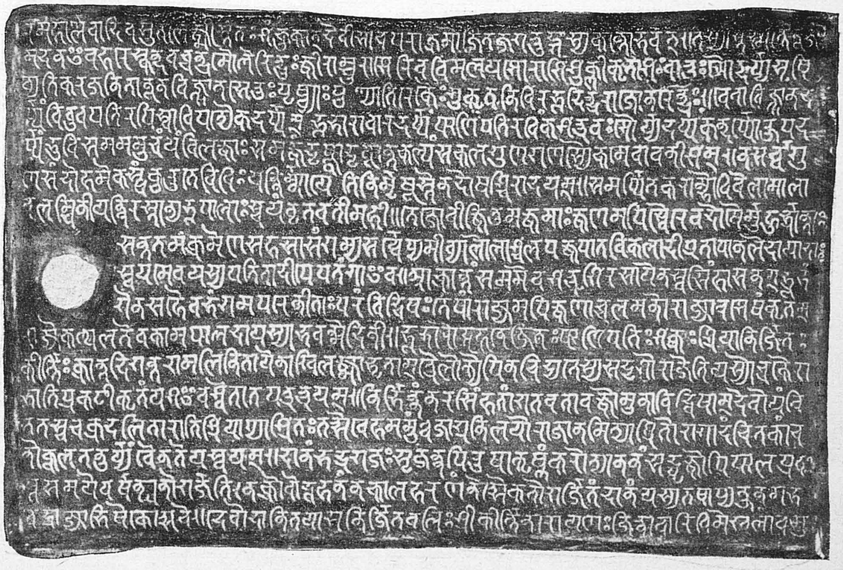
[3] After this word a *visarga* was first engraved which has been subsequently cancelled.

TWO GRANTS OF RASHTRAKUTA INDRA III VAJIRKHEDA, SAKA 836—PLATE II

Grant B

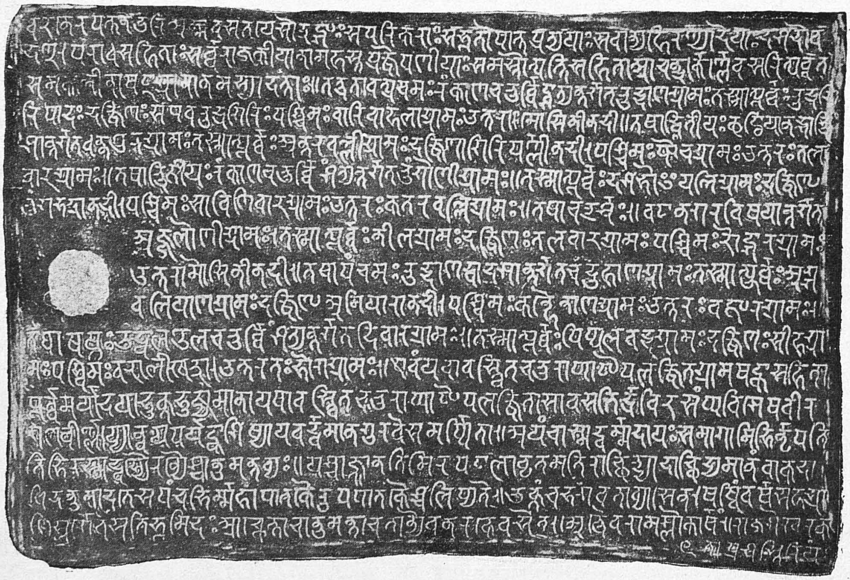
i

ii, a



ii, b

iii



Scale : One-third

6929A

57 वाडग्रामः ।। तथा त्रि(तृ)तीयः रंकाणचतुर्व्विंशत्यन्तर्गततुंगोणीग्रामः ।। तस्मात्पूर्व्वः दशभोइयलिग्रामः दक्षिणा

58 तुंगभद्रा नदी । पश्चिमः साविणिवाडग्रामः उत्तरः कतरवल्लिग्रामः ।। तथा चतुर्थः वटनगरविषयान्तर्गत[:*]

59 अज्जलोणीग्रामः । तस्मात्पूर्व्वः नीलग्रामः दक्षिणः तलवाडग्रामः पश्चिमः डोङ्गरग्रामः

60 उत्तरा मोसिनी नदी ।। तथा पंचमः रुद्दाणद्वादशान्तर्गतचंदुहाणग्राम तस्मात्पूर्व्वः अग्ग-

61 वलियाणग्रामः दक्षिणा अमियारा नदी पश्चिमः कन्हैनाणग्रामः उत्तरः वट्टारग्रामः ।।

62 तथा षष्टः(ष्ठः) उद्दलउलचतुर्व्विंशत्यन्तर्गतदिवारग्रामः ।। तस्मात्पूर्व्वः पिप्पलवद्दग्रामः दक्षिणः सीहग्रा-

63 मः पस्चि(श्चि)मः वडालीखत्रा । उत्तरतः भोराग्रामः ।। ए[1]वं यवा(था)वस्थित-चतुराघाटोपलक्षितग्रामषट्कसहिता

64 पूर्व्वमर्यादया भुक्तभुज्यमाना यथावस्थितचतुरावाटोपलक्षिता सा वसतिर्द्रविडसंघ-विशेषवीर-

65 गणवीर्ण्णर्य्यान्वयपर्यङ्कशिष्याय वर्द्धमानगुरवे समर्प्पिता ।। अयं चास्मद्धर्म्मदायः समागामिभिर्नृपति-

66 ति[2]भिरस्मद्व(द्वं)स्यै(श्यै)रन्यैश्चानुमन्तव्यः ।। यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्या-दाच्छिद्यमानं वा कदा-

67 चिदनुमा(मो)दते स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च लिप्यते ।। उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-

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[1] It appears that प was first engraved which has been corrected into ए afterwards.

[2] This letter is redundant.

68 णि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् ॥ [२२॥*] अत्रैव रामश्लोकार्थं(र्थः) ॥ राजशेखरक(कृ)-

69 ० ता प्रशस्तिरियं(यम्) ।

No. 3—BANTRA INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMALLARAJA

(*1 Plate*)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

(*Received on 29.6.1967*)

The inscription[1] which is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore, is engraved on two sides of a stone slab set up in the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple in the village of **Bantra** in Mangalore Taluk, South Kanara District, Mysore State. The record is damaged on the right and left margins resulting in the loss of a few letters, especially in the upper half of the obverse portion. The writing is, otherwise, well preserved. There are twentysix lines of writing in all, seventeen on the obverse and nine on the reverse sides.

The **characters** and the **language** of the inscription belong to the archaic Kannaḍa variety and are comparable to those found in the records from neighbouring areas. The inscription is not dated but could be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to about the middle of the ninth century A.D.[2] As is usual with such early records from South Kanara, the letters do not all of them fall into one particular palaeographical period, some like *y* and *l* showing earlier characteristics and others like *l*, *k* and, in some instances, *y* betraying later developments. Nevertheless, the record does bear comparison, in general, with Kannaḍa records of the said period from the adjacent regions and, in particular, with the inscriptions[3] of the Āḷupa king Māramma *alias* Āḷuvarasa IV who, in all probability, ruled over South Kanara from about 840 to about 870 A.D.

The epigraph contains a few **orthographical** errors and peculiarities. *Iḷdu* (lines 10 and 18) has been written for *irdu*. *Ēkasta* (line 6), *vyavaste* (line 18), *stiti* (line 23) and *palam* (line 24) for *ēkastha*, *vyavasthe*, *sthiti* and *phalam* respectively illustrate the influence of Kannaḍa on words borrowed from Sanskrit. The usage of *uḍeyār* for the more usual *oḍeyār* in line 14 is interesting. The word *paḷi* (line 19) in the sense of 'reviling' or 'vengeance' is noteworthy. Of initial vowels, *a* occurs once (line 24), *i* thrice (lines 7, 20 and 23), *u* thrice (lines 16, 24 and 25), *e* four times (lines 17, 18, 25 and 26) and *o* twice (lines 9 and 26).

As for the purport of the record, it has been observed in the *A.R.Ep.*, 1930-31 as follows· "Seems to register an agreement regarding the enjoyment of some lands, made in the presence of the king, the Kataṁba[4] chief Rāchamallan-Dugarāja, brother of Viḷārittaḷiyarasa and Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja and some Perggaḍes". This statement, however, is not correct, since there is no reference whatsoever to the enjoyment of lands.

The inscription, on the other hand, records a political agreement entered into by four persons, viz. king **Nṛipamallarāja**, a **Katambha** ruler whom the record fails to mention by name, **Rāchamallan-Dugarāja**, the beloved brother of **Viḷarittaḷiyarasa** and **Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja**, the son of **Balle(or Valle-)oḍeya.** That these four persons were parties to the treaty becomes obvious when we connect *nālvarum-iḷdu* in line 10 with *keyida vyavaste* in line 18, the

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[1] This is No. 351 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1930-31.

[2] In *A.R.Ep.* for 1930-31, the record has been assigned to the eighth century.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ff., Nos. VII and VIII and plates; *SII.*, Vol, VII, p. 144, No. 283.

[4] The correct reading is *Katambha.*

space in between being devoted to the enumeration of the names of some persons who too were present at the time of the conclusion of the agreement. The treaty itself was to the effect that the parties concerned would, in the times to come, discontinue (?) mutual enmity (*page*), vengeance (*paḷi*) and fights (*esage* ?). Such political agreements become more numerous in the later history of South Kanara.[1]

The record commences with the auspicious word *svasti* and immediately refers to the reign of Nṛipamallarāja who is eulogised as [*rā*]*ja-kul-āṁbar-ādi*[*tya*] and *satya-śaucha-vinay-āchāra-sampanna* (lines 2-4). The passage immediately following is not happily constructed. It reads *sakala-guṇa-ga*[*ṇ-ālaṁ*]*kṛita-Katambha-kul-ōdbhava srī-prithuvī-rājyad-uḷ* (lines 5-7). This sentence though complete in itself, is defective in that it does not mention by name the Kataṁbha ruler to whose *prithuvī-rājya* it alludes. Besides, the reference to Nṛipamallarāja's reign merely as *rājya-vṛiddhiy-uḷḷe* and to the Katambha's rule as *prithuvi-rājyad-uḷ* seems to imply that the latter was the superior of the two.

The name of the king Nṛipamallarāja is interesting. This name is not met with elsewhere in available records as that of a ruling king or chieftain. Nor has a second record of this ruler been found in South Kanara itself and this, coupled with the silence of the record regarding the dynasty to which he belonged, renders the identification of Nṛipamallarāja impossible at least for the present. It may, however, be pointed out that Nṛipamalla is only a variant of Rājamalla, a name by which more than one Western Gaṅga ruler are known to history.[2] It is interesting also to note that the name of Rāchamalla who was also a party to the agreement is also a variant of Rājamalla and Nṛipamalla and is used as such in Western Gaṅga records. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is not possible to connect this record with the Western Gaṅgas.

Kadamba as a dynastic name is found written also as Kādamba, Kaḍamba and, in rare instances, Kataṁba. Our record contains the family name *Katambha* which may or may not be connected with the dynasty of the Kadambas.

As has already been pointed out, South Kanara was, during the period to which this record belongs, in all probability under the sway of Māramma *alias* Āḷuvarasa IV. As far as could be judged from this Āḷupa ruler's available records, his reign was a peaceful one. High-sounding titles such as *paramēśvara* and *adhirājarāja* which he assumed[3] reveal that he was the most powerful ruler of South Kanara in his time. It is not improbable, therefore, that Nṛipamallarāja and the unnamed Katambha ruler were the subordinates of Māramma. As for Rāchamallan-Dugarāja and Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja,[4] it becomes obvious that they were only princes of two minor houses, the former's elder brother Viḷarittaḷiyarasa and the latter's father Balle-oḍeya being alive at the time of the setting up of the record as is proved by the references to them towards the end of this record. In all probability, Nṛipamallarāja, the Kataṁbha chief, Viḷarittaḷiyarasa and Balle-oḍeyār were administering adjacent bits of tracts within Āḷuvakhēḍa, i.e., roughly the present district of South Kanara. The absence of any reference to the Āḷupa king does not preclude the possibilities suggested above.[5]

Among those who were present at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, perhaps as witnesses, was *Sādanurā-marudagaḷ*. The exact significance of the term *marudagaḷ* is difficult to

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[1] Cf. Nos. 385, 392, 393 and 406 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1927-28.

[2] It may be pointed out here that Rājamalla Satyavākya was on the Western Gaṅga throne about this period.

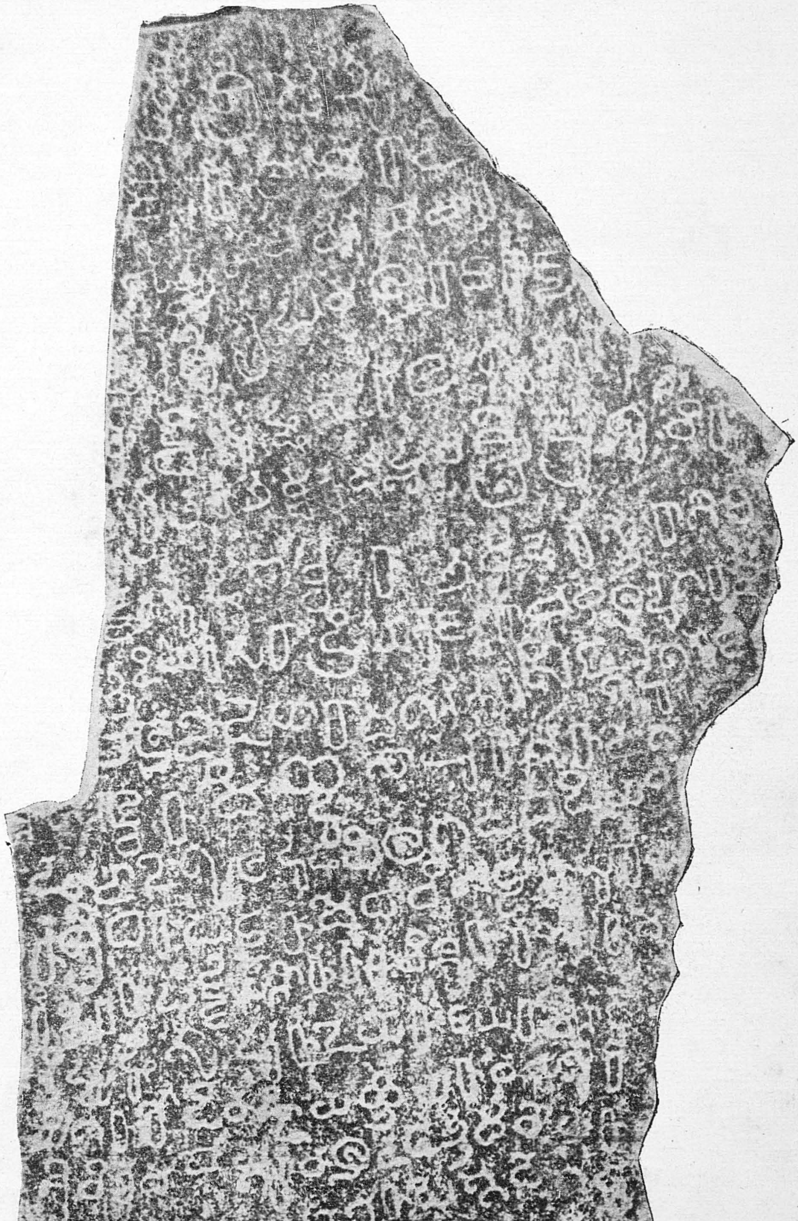
[3] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ff., Nos. VII and VIII and plates.

[4] Could it be that *dugarāja* suffixed to the names of Rāchamalla and Narasiṅga is a corrupt form of *yuvarāja* ?

[5] Such political treaties which belong to the Vijayanagara period and to South Kanara do not generally mention the Vijayanagara emperors though South Kanara formed a part of the empire.

BANTRA INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMALLARAJA

Obverse



Reverse

Scale : One-sixth

determine though it may stand for the 'physician' of Sādanura. *Mardu*, an outdated form in Kannaḍa for modern *maddu*=medicine is even now employed in Tuḷu. This *marudagaḷ* may be the same as Tamil *maruttuvargaḷ*, 'physicians'. Others present were 'those who arrange for service (like playing instrumental music by turns) in the temple (*dēguladuḷ vōlagada pāḷiyavaru*), Śrīdhara-paṭṭa, Mēdhāvi-bhaṭṭa, Pureya-kittara (?), Pajjiyaṇa, Viś[va?] of **Kukke**, the *kaṇaka* (accountant), the *uḍeya* of **Sādanura**, Jayarāma-nā..yiga, Aḷtiya(?) of **Kōṭivaḷḷi**, Vayasuri (?) śrī-Vikkrama-poyga, Uttama-voyga of **Valla**, Narasiṅga-voyga and the *perggaḍes*.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are **Sādanura, Kukke, Kōṭivaḷḷi, Valla** and **Vāraṇāsi.** Of these the last is the famous Vārāṇasī of the north. Kukke is even to this day a second name for Subrahmaṇya, a famous pilgrimage centre in Puttur Taluk, South Kanara District. I am unable to identify the rest of the place-names though they were probably situated around Bantra, the findspot of the present inscription.

Lines 20-23 pronounce a curse upon those who fail to abide by the terms of the treaty while lines 23-24 exhort that he who preserves the aims of the record will have gained the merits of performing the horse-sacrifice. Lines 24-26 refer to Viḷarittaḷiyarasa and Valle-oḍeya but the context in which they are thus referred to is not clear.

TEXT[1]

Obverse

1 [Sva[2]]sti [||*] śrīmat

2 [rā]ja-kul-āmbar-ādi-

3 [tya]-satya-śaucha-vinay-āchāra-

4 [sam]panna-śrī-**Nṛipamallarāja**-rājya-

5 [vṛi]ddhiy-uḷḷe sakala-guṇa-ga-

6 [ṇ-ālaṁ]kṛita **Katambha**-kul-ōdbhava śrī-pṛithuvī-rā-

7 jyad-uḷ irvvaruṁ tamuḷ=ēkastar-āgi Vi-

8 [ḷari]ttaḷiyarasarā priy-ānujan **Rāchamallan-dugarāja**

9 **Balle-oḍeyārā** magan **Narasiṅgan-dugarāja-**

10 [**ṇ**-āgi] nālvaruṁ(ru)m=iḷdu **Sādanurā marudaga-**

11 ḷ=ad=ā dēgulad-uḷ [vō]lagada pāḷiyava-

12 ruṁ Śrīdhara-pa(bha)ṭṭaruṁ Mēdhāvi-bhaṭṭaruṁ Pureya-

13 Kittararuṁ Pajjiyaṇaruṁ **Kukke** Viś[va]ruṁ kaṇakaruṁ **ma-**

14 [ntippaḷu ?][3] **Sādanur-**uḍeyāruṁ Jayarāma nā .

15 yigaruṁ **Kōṭivaḷḷiy**=Aḷtiyaruṁ [Va]ya [sur]ri[3] (?)

16 śrī-Vikkrama-poygaruṁ Vallada Uttama-voygaruṁ

17 Narasinga-[vo]ygaruṁ enebāruṁ perggaḍegaḷu-

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1 From impressions.

2 Lost letters have been restored in the text wherever possible.

3 This reading is extremely doubtful.

Reverse

18 m-iḻdu ke[yi]da vyavaste em[u]-

19 [ḍa][1] pageyuṁ paḻiyum=[e]sageyum[2] -u (?)

20 mu[ndalde ?][3] intu salisādōn-Vāraṇā[si]

21 sāśi(si)ra-kavileyu konda pātakan-āgi raurava

22 narakad-uḷ tanna gōtra-sahita puḻu-

23 kōṭi vuttu-ppōn[ar-akkuṁ] [||*] I(Ī) stitiyān-niṟi[si]-

24 donge aśvamēdha keyda pa(pha)lam=akke [u][4]

25 embodu Viḻarittaḷiyarasargge [u]

26 koḍu embodu Valle-oḍeyargge [||*]

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[1] I am not sure of the reading here. I have taken the word *emuḍa* to be the equivalent of Tamil *emmuḍaiya* meaning 'our'.

[2] *esage* literally means 'to throw' or 'to engage' and appears to be used here in the sense of 'fight'.

[3] This reading is uncertain. But the letters within the brackets do not easily lend themselves to any other reading.

[4] Here and at the end of the next line one or two letters appear to have been lost.

No. 4—MADURAI INSCRIPTION OF PANDYA CHENDAN, YEAR 50

(*1 Plate*)

K. G. Krishnan, Mysore

(*Received on 4.9.1967*)

The slab containing the inscription[1] edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was reported to have been unearthed from the bed of the **Vaigai river** while digging for water. It was reported to the Superintendent, Southern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, by Shri V. Arunachalam of the Office of the Collector of Ramanathapuram. Shri K. V. Raman, the Technical Assistant deputed by the Superintendent took a photograph and an impression which were sent to the Government Epigraphist for India. Since the inscription which was found to be very important could not be satisfactorily deciphered from the photograph and the impression, it was copied by me in September 1961. Even while I was copying this inscription I began to suspect that similar inscribed slabs might be lying somewhere along the bed of the river[2] and my search yielded two more inscriptions of which one[3] was an unfinished copy of the inscription edited here.

The inscribed slab measures about 1·2 metres long and 75 cm wide. The inscription is engraved within the space bordered by a rough rectangle drawn on the stone. It is broken at the lower bottom diagonally from the right end of line 11 to the beginning of line 14. In spite of this damage it can be said that not much of the inscription is lost. The total number of lines of the extant text is 14 of which the beginning of the 14th line is just visible.

The epigraph is engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Grantha **characters** of the 7th century and the **language** is Tamil. Sanskrit expressions used to describe the king are engraved in Grantha with Tamil terminations which are engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters. Palaeographically the inscription is interesting. Dots have been used not only over the pure consonants but also on full consonants where the short medial vowels *e* and *o* occur. This feature has been noticed also in the case of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant[4] of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ in Vaṭṭeḻuttu script and the inscriptions[5] from Śendalai in Tamil script. Some other inscriptions provide instances of the use of the dot over pure consonants only.[6] While the use of dots over pure consonants is well-known, the use of dots over medial short *e* and *o* requires some explanation. It may be noted here that this practice is in accordance with ancient Tamil grammar. The *Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttadikāram,* has the following to say on this :

Meyyiṉ=iyaṟkai puḷḷiyoḍu nilaiyal (*sūttira* no. 15)

Ekara-Okaratt=iyaṟkaiyum=aṟṟē (no. 16).

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B. 330.

[2] Since the river is dry except during the rainy season, supply of spring water from its bed during other seasons has become a regular trade. Stones are also kept in the water-sheds for beating up the clothes. During times of floods the stones go farther down or below the bed and it is one such slab that has yielded the inscription edited here.

[3] Ibid., No. B 331. The other inscription (No. B. 332) is in Tamil characters of about the 12th century.

[4] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 291. It has been observed there 'the *puḷḷi* (i.e., the dot) is unnecessarily inserted over the vocalic *e* and *o* and even over the initial vowel letter *o*'. This is not correct. The insertion of a dot is necessary and regular as explained by us in the sequel. The plates provide also instances for the use of dots over these initial vowels (see lines 108, 109, etc.).

[5] Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff. The impressions of inscriptions which are not illustrated there show the dots.

[6] *SII*, Vol. III, Nos. 27, 90, 100, 104, 108, etc.

The form of the pure consonant is to appear with a dot, as also the forms of *e* and *o*. Thus this inscription proves to be a good example of these rules. The next important feature is the form of the letter *y*. This letter is formed by a diminutive but convex semicircle being placed on a fully drawn concave semicircle.[1] The next stage of its development can be discerned in the Smaller Sinnamanur plates[2] and the Madras Museum plates[2] where the convex semicircle tends to swing towards the centre bottom or the left end of the bigger concave semicircle. Thus this form of *y* is the earliest ever met with in Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions. In the only case of medial *i* the sign is marked by a distinct loop inside the left. A comparison of the palaeography of this inscription with the Tirunādarkuṉṟu inscription[3] and the early Pāṇḍya copper-plates mentioned above indicates that the present record may be placed sometime between these two, about the middle of the seventh century, if not earlier.

This being a very early inscription, in Tamil, of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, some words of grammatical and lexicographical interest may be noted here. *Araiśu* in line 2 is an instance of *iḍaippōli* for *araśu*. The use of the word *naḍāvi* in line 7 is noteworthy.[4] The expletive particle *maṟṟu* is used in line 8. This is also used in the Pāṇḍya charters[5] of the successors of Chēndaṉ. The use of *paḍuttu* (lines 9-10) in the sense of 'having caused to be constructed' may be noted. *Piyar* in line 10 is evidently a corruption of *peyar* and this is not grammatically sanctioned.[6] The expressions *cheṅgōl-naḍāvi* in line 7 and *kāṟoḍuvittu* in lines 10-11 should be separated as *cheṅgōl* and *naḍāvi*, and *kāl* and *toḍuvittu* respectively. The *sandhi* has been observed correctly in both the cases.

Regarding the Grantha script it may be observed that it is regular for the period. This duplication is invariably present in the inscriptions of the later period. The fragmentary inscription engraved on another stone discovered at the same place and mentioned above contains only the portion of the text of the present inscription upto the date portion. The preamble which is in Grantha shows a few later features such as the form of *y* (line 2) in which the diminutive convex semicircle becomes concave and is combined to the left end of the main semicircle and the form of *ṇ* in *ṇya* (line 2) in which one end of the base line has become a loop. This copy of the text appears to have been engraved by a different hand at a later period.

The inscription under study introduces the king **Chēndaṉ** of the **Pāṇḍya dynasty** in the preamble (lines 1-8). The style of this passage is reminiscent of the later *maṇipravāḷa* used so profusely by the Vaishṇava commentators of the *Nālāyira-divyaprabandham* and may be considered to be the earliest specimen of the style. Besides, this passage provides also the earliest instance, in Tamil epigraphy, of the use of poetry anticipating the *praśastis* of the later period.

The king is described in the record as follows : He was born in the Pāṇḍya family and adorned it as an effulgent jewel. He subdued kings by his prowess, destroyed wickedness (*maṟam*) and augmented goodness (*aṟam*). He created many *agrahāras* and performed numerous *mahādānas* such as *hiraṇyagarbha*, *gōsahasra* and *tulābhāra* and thereby chastised Kali. Lastly he is stated to have established the city of **Maṅgalapura** and ruled from there. The inscription is dated

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[1] The letter *y* in *Arikēsariyāṉ* (line 10) and *piyar* (line 10) shows the later form where the diminutive convex circle tends to swing towards the centre bottom.

[2] *SII*, Vol. III, p. 462, lines 4, 5, 6, etc. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 70, lines 19, 20, etc.

[3] *SII*, Vol. XVII, frontispiece.

[4] This word is also used in *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135, section j, line 2.

[5] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 455, line 106 ; p. 463, line 23 ; above, vol. XVII, p. 300, lines 46, 48, 51, etc.

[6] It is a matter of opinion whether this also could not be treated as an instance of *mudaṟpōli*. For this form *piyar* see also above, Vol. XVII, p. 302, line 108.

in the **fiftieth year** in the reign of the king Chēndaṉ and records the construction of a sluice (*madagu*) and the excavation of a channel (*kāl*) from Vaigai by the king and also states that the sluice was named Arikēsariyāṉ. It also refers to the closing of another channel and to some territorial divisions including **Paruttikkuḍi-[nāḍu]** obviously comprising the areas benefited by the new channel. Since the record is damaged at this point, nothing more could be made out.

Chēndaṉ, the king to whom the record belongs, is no doubt identical with Chēndaṉ described in the Smaller Sinnamanur plates[1] and the Vēḷvikuḍi grant[2] as the father of Arikēsari Māṟavarmaṉ. The name of the sluice Arikēsariyāṉ is reminiscent of Arikēsari, Chēndaṉ's son, though there is nothing in the record to suggest that it was named after this prince.[3] The present record does not attribute any cognomen to the king such as Māraṉ or Chaḍaiyaṉ while his father is described only as a Māṟavaṟmaṉ in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant.[4] But the same grant describes Chēndaṉ as Cheḻiyaṉ Vāṉavaṉ Cheṅgōṟ-Chēndaṉ. Following the practice in later times, of alternating Māṟaṉ and Chaḍaiyaṉ between father or predecessor and son or successor among the Pāṇḍya kings, we may expect that Chēndaṉ, the son of Māṟavarmaṉ should be called Chaḍaiyaṉ. An inscription[4] from Malaiyaḍikkuṟichchi recently discovered by Shri K. R. Srinivasan is dated in the reign of this Chēndaṉ and describes him as Māṟaṉ Chēndaṉ instead of Māṟaṉ Chaḍaiyaṉ as the later Pāṇḍya inscriptions would have. We are led to surmise that the title Cheḻiyaṉ applied to Chēndaṉ in the Velvikudi grant perhaps transformed itself into Chaḍaiyaṉ in the reign of his grandson Chaḍaiyaṉ Raṇadhīra as described in the same grant. It may be noted that while both Māṟaṉ and Cheḻiyaṉ were used for the Pāṇḍyas in general in the Sangam classics,[5] Chaḍaiyaṉ came to be used among the Pāṇḍya kings in later times and Cheḻiyaṉ ceased to be applied to any particular king of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. Jaṭila or Jaṭilavarmaṉ and Chaḍaiyaṉ are obviously interconnected.[6]

Tamil literature contains references to more than one Chēndaṉ. A stanza in the *Muttoḷḷāyiram* quoted in one of the commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam* refers to a king Chēndaṉ and describes the conventional love of a maiden towards him in the form of an appeal to the elephant on which the king was riding to walk alongside the window of her house so that she can have a full view of the king. The stanza is:

Koy-taḷirt-taṉ-paḍalaik-kūṟṟap-peruñ-Chēndaṉ

vaigalum=ēṟum vayak-kaḷiṟē kaitoḻuval

kāl=ēgavaṉṉaṉaik=kaṇṇ-ārak=kāṇav=eñ-

chālēgañ-chāra naḍa[7]

Since the *Muttoḷḷāyiram* is known to be an anthology of poems containing three sections composed on the three great Tamil kings Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya respectively and since the Chēra and the Chōḷa dynasties do not claim to have a Chēndaṉ in their genealogy, Chēndaṉ of this stanza

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[1] *SII*, Vol. III, p. 463, line 14 where he is called Jayantavarman, Chēndaṉ being its Tamil form.

[2] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 300-01, lines 48-62.

[3] It is not known whether Chēndaṉ's father also had the name Arikēsari which is not improbable. The Vēḷvikuḍi plates refer to him only as Māṟavarmaṉ. *Avanichūḷāmaṇi* occurring in the relevant passages seems to be a title.

[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. B. 358.

[5] *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, verses 19 and 25 for Cheḻiyaṉ and verses 55-57 for Māṟaṉ. There is no evidence to consider whether these two cognomens were applied in the Saṅgam period alternately.

[6] Chaḍaiyaṉ as applied to Śiva or to persons professing Śaiva religion may have to be derived from Chaḍai or *Jaṭā*, the matted locks of Śiva. See s.v. Tamil Lexicon. Chaḍaiyaṉ as applied to Pāṇḍya kings could not be justified in each case as Śaivite to the exclusion of Māṟaṉ, though the Pāṇḍyas are known to have god Śiva at Madurai, their capital, as their tutelary deity.

[7] *Tolkāppiyam, Cholladikāram*, sūtra 37, Nachchinārkkiṉiyar's commentary. The expression *kūṟṟap-peruṉ-Chēndaṉ* is given as *kūttap°* in the commentary of Mayilaināḍar and Śaṅkaranamaśśivāyar on sūtra 396 of *Naṉṉūl*.

is very likely to be identical with Pāṇḍya Chēndaṉ of this inscription. This anthology is ascribed to the last quarter of the ninth century.[1] The other Chēndaṉs referred to in Tamil literature are : (1) Chēndaṉ (Aruvandai), the chief of Ambar on the banks of the Kāvēri,[2] (2) Chēndaṉ, the lord of Tamil, at whose court the work called Chūḷāmaṇi of Tōlāmoḻit-tēvar was set with the seal of approval. The commentary on a verse in the *pāyiram* of this work containing this statement, states that Chēndaṉ was Avaṉichūḷāmaṇi Māṟavarmaṉ and this is obviously incorrect.[3] Chēndaṉ was not a Māṟavarmaṉ but he was the son of Avaṉichūḷāmaṇi Māṟavarmaṉ according to the Velvikudi grant. The work being definitely later than the well-known five big epics (*Chilappadikāram*, etc.[4]) the identity of this Chēndaṉ with the Pāṇḍya king is precluded. (3) Jayantaṉ (the Sanskritic form of Chēndaṉ) referred to in a verse[5] cited in the work called *Yāpparuṅgala-virutti* of about the tenth century. He is there stated to be an ally of Chatumuka (Chaturmukha) who was defeated by Śaṅgapālaṉ who is also referred to as Nandi of the Bāṇakula. If this Nandi is the same as Nandivarman, the first known chief of the Bāṇa family removed only by two generations from his descendant Vikramāditya, a junior contemporary of Varaguṇa of accession in 872 A.D., Jayantaṉ of this poem cannot be identified with Chēndaṉ of our record for,the latter, as already indicated, lived in the first half of the seventh century. (4) Chēndaṉ, the *sēnāpati* of Toṇḍaimāṉ and the chief of Poṉpaṟṟi who saw the back of the fleeing Siṅgaḷattaraiyaṉ and the Villavaṉ and also captured the white parasol of the former.[6] Thus, none of these four Chēndaṉs can be identified with the king of the present record.

Chēndaṉ of the record under study is the first among the Pāṇḍyas, who performed the *mahādānas*[7] in so far as the available records show. According to the Vēḷvikuḍi grant which does not refer to this fact regarding Chēndaṉ, his son Māṟavarmaṉ Arikēsari and his great grandson Māṟavarmaṉ Rājasiṁha are also known to have performed these charities.[8] The most important fact in the description of the king in the present record is the founding of the city of Maṅgaḷapuram. The Vēḷvikuḍi grant also refers to a city Maṅgalapura where Chaḍaiyaṉ (Raṇadhīra in the Sanskrit portion), the grandson of Chēndaṉ is stated to have attacked and destroyed the Mahārathas.[9] The editor of the said plates proposed the identification of Maṅgalapura with Mangalore in South Kanara District, Mysore State without assigning any grounds therefor. There is, however, a contemporary copper-plate charter of Pulakēsin II from Māruṭūru dated in the latter's eighth year (616 A.D.) of reign which refers to the visit of an Āluka (Āḷupa) chief to the royal camp at Kallūr from his own capital Maṅgalapura in spite of the arduous journey and other difficulties.[10] While this Maṅgalapura

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1 *History of Tamil Language and Literature* by S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 136.

2 *Chēndaṉ Divākaram*, stanzas at the end of each of the twelve chapters. Ambar Aruvandai of *Puṟanāṉuṟu* (No. 385 composed by Kallāḍaṉār) was evidently a distant ancestor of this Chēndaṉ Aruvandai, the author of *Divākaram.*

3 *Chūḷāmaṇi*, stanza no. 4 in *Pāyiram*, U. V. Swaminatha Iyer's Library edition, Adayar. *Tamiḻ Varalāṟu* (p. 176) of Srinivasa Pillai quotes a verse from another edition of *Chūḷāmaṇi*, which speaks of Vijaiyaṉ, a chief of Kārveṭṭi (i.e., Kārvēṭi) during whose regime this work is stated to have been composed. The identity of this chief is obscure. The authenticity of this verse is not attested and the name Kārveṭṭi is a late one in history.

4 *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, p. 163.

5 *Yāpparuṅgalam* with *virutti*, Bhavanandam Pillai's edition, p. 197.

6 *Vīraśōḻiyam, Yāppiyal, sūtra* 11, commentary. This work on Tamil grammar of about the 11th century was composed by Buddhamitra, who is also described as the chief of Poṉpaṟṟi (vide, ibid., *Pāyiram*).

7 See page 28 above.

8 Above, Vol. XVII, p. 301, lines 60 and 85.

9 Ibid., lines 66-67.

10 *Copperplate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, Vol. I, pp. 11 ff. and plates. Maṅgaiapura has been wrongly indentified with Mangalagiri in Guntur District ignoring the statement in the charter that the Āḷupa chief had to travel hard all the way from that city to Kallūr identified by the editor with Kollūr again in Guntur District. It is not clear how the Āḷupa chief will find it difficult to travel from Maṅgalagiri to Kollūr both in Guntur District which could never have been the territory of the Āḷupa.

is no doubt identical with Mangalore which was certainly within the territorial limits of Āḷupa's dominions (Ālvakhēḍa)[1] the Maṅgalapura of the present record which refers to its foundation and the Maṅgalapura of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant which refer to the city as the place where the Mahārathas were attacked and destroyed, may be identical and will have to be located well inside the Pāṇḍyan dominion, if not on their borders. Maṅgalapura which was founded by Chēndan and which cannot be identified with Maṅgalapura (i.e., Mangalore) of the Māruṭūru plates referred to above, was evidently attacked by the Mahārathas in the reign of his grandson Chaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra. Besides the Pallavas of the Siṁhavishṇu line from Kāñchi who were frequently at war with the Pāṇḍyas, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi also claim to have either befriended or subdued the Pāṇḍyas along with the Chōḷa and the Kēraḷa. Pulakēsin II is known to have come as far upto the Kāvēri if not crossed it, sometime before 634-35 A.D., as indicated by the Aihoḷe inscription.[2] He is stated to have assured protection for the three Tamil Kings, including the Pāṇḍya against the Pallava and this is a clear instance of the *maṇḍala* theory of political science. His son, Vikramāditya I is known to have camped actually at Uragapura in Chōlika-vishaya, i.e., Uṟaiyūr on the south bank of the Kāvēri in 674 A.D., though the actual circumstances of his camp are not stated.[3] It is not unlikely that the Pāṇḍya who was friendly to the Chālukya Pulakēsin II joined the Pallava later on thus inviting the Chālukya king to administer a reprisal.[4] It is, therefore, possible that the second expedition of the Chālukyas in 674 A.D., in the reign of Vikramāditya I provided the occasion for a fight at Maṅgalapura.[5] There are two places that may answer to the location of this place. One is Tirumaṅgalam in Lalgudi Taluk in Tiruchchirappalli District on the north bank of the Kāvēri and the other a village called Maṅgalam in Sattur Taluk in Ramanathapuram District. There is no contemporary evidence, however, of these places being called Maṅgalapura. The former is on the route of the march or retreat of the Chālukya army which suffered, after this date, defeat at Peruvaḷanallūr which is nearby. The latter is far into the south. An inscription[6] from Āṇaiyūr in Madurai District in Tamil characters of the 11th century A.D., dated in the 10th year (*c.* 950 A.D.) in the reign of Sōḷaṉ-talai-koṇḍa Vīrapāṇḍya, refers to the palace at Maṅgalyapuram which is no doubt identical with Maṅgalapuram of the present record. Another evidence in its support is a reference to a palace of the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarmaṉ Sundarapāṇḍya I (acc. 1216 A.D.) at Maṅgalam which is said to be situated in..kkuḍi-nāḍu.[7] Thus the present record and the two later Pāṇḍya records cited above attest to the continuity of the place at least

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[1] The Āḷupas claim to have belonged to the Pāṇḍya lineage as recorded in the Shiggaon plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya dated Śaka 630 (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 322, line 33). This will have to be treated as unconnected with the question of the identification of Maṅgalapura. For, Chēndaṉ is never known to have extended his kingdom so far north up to Mangalore. The Pāṇḍya lineage of the Āḷupas referred to above is well supported by the names of Āḷupa kings such as Uttamapāṇḍya, Pāṇḍyachakravartti, Vīrapāṇḍya etc. In later times a Vīrapāṇḍya of Madurai, the brother of Jaṭāvarmaṉ-Sundarapāṇḍya I is known to have been made the ruler of Koṅkaṇa-rājya (*A. R. Ep.*, 1938-39, pp. 81-82).

[2] Above, Vol. VI, p. 6, lines 15-16.

[3] Ibid., Vol. X, p. 103, lines 25-26, Vol. XXVII, p. 118, lines 23-24. This Uragapura has been identified with Nāgapaṭṭaṇam and Pāmbūr. But its identification with Uṟaiyūr appears to be correct. See R. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kāñchi*, p. 104, note 4.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 177.

[5] See the *Pallavas* by Jouveau. Dubreuil, p. 68 where the Mahāratha has been identified with the Chālukya king. Contra., The *Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, p. 55, note 2. The name is misspelt as Maṅgalāpuram and the evidence of the Chālukyan charters is not properly evaluated. But it is suggested that "Arikēsari Māṟavarmaṉ, Chēndaṉ's son could have entered into an alliance with the Pallavas' enemy on the other side, namely Chālukya Vikramāditya I". *A History of South India*, 3rd edition, p. 152.

[6] *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B 336. The *nāḍu* in which Maṅgalyapuram is situated is not given. The record is considered to be a later copy (see ibid., p. 15).

[7] Ibid., 1926, No. 557.

down to the reign of Māṟavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I.[1] The name of the *nāḍu* in which it is situated could be restored as Paruttikkuḍi or Karunīlakkuḍi-nāḍu. Paruttikkuḍi-nāḍu which is mentioned in line 12 of the present record covers rougly the area around Tiruchchuḻiyal and Paḷḷimaḍai[2] in Aruppukkottai Taluk in Ramanathapuram District. There is no place bearing the name Maṅgalam or Maṅgalapuram in this region. Karunīlakkuḍi-nāḍu comprises the area extending roughly from Kuṉṉūr in Śrivilliputtur Taluk to Tiruttaṅgāl[3] in Sāttur Taluk, both the Taluks being in Ramanathapuram District. There is a Maṅgalam in this area in Sattur Taluk which might have contained the palace referred to above. Therefore, Maṅgalapuram may be identified with Maṅgalam mentioned above. It is difficult to say now whether the Chāḷukya, if his identification with the Mahārathar is correct, came further south from Kāvēri or sent his army far up to this place. In the wake of reconstruction of the events connected with the Chālukya expeditions before 634-35 A.D. and in 674 A.D., it may follow as a natural corollary that the battle at Maṅgalapura in which Raṇadhīra is credited with success against the Mahārathas might have been fought shortly after 674 A.D. This will make the reign of Chēndaṉ, Raṇadhīra's grandfather, fall in the first half of the 7th century, which is well supported also by the palaeography of the present record.[4]

The only other geographical name Paruttikkuḍi-nāḍu in line 12 has been discussed above.

TEXT[5]

1 **Pāṇḍya-kula**-maṇi-pradīpaṉ=āy prādurbhāvañ-che-
2 ydu[|*][6]vikramaṅgaḷāl=arais-aḍakki maṟaṅ-
3 keḍutt=āṟam-perukki [|*] agrā(gra)hāram pala
4 cheyd=aparimitam=āgiya Hiraṇyagarbha[|*]-Gō-
5 sahasra-Tulābhārattu mahādānaṅgaḷāṟ
6 kaii-kaḍiṅdu [|*]**Maṅgalapuran**=nagaram-ākki vī-
7 ṟṟirundu cheṅ-gō-[na]ḍāvi [|*] niṉṟa **Kōch-Chē-**
8 **ndaṉ** maṟṟ[7]=**aimbad=āvadu** rājya-samvatsara-
9 ñ=chellāniṟka Vaigai [choṉ][8] -madagu pa-
10 ḍutt=Arikēsariyāṉ=eṉap=piyar-iṭṭu kā-ṟoḍu-
11 viṭṭuk=kāña[t][9] tai ōḍai aḍaittu[10].
12 ḷ-nāḍu Paruttikku[ḍi] .....
13 kuḍukka [ppa]......
14 ....

[1] See above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 116-17 for the use of the word Maṅgala in a number of titles such as Vīramaṅgalappēraraiyaṉ, Pāṇḍi-Amṛitamaṅgalavaraiyaṉ and Pāṇḍi-Iḷaṅgōmaṅgalapēraraiśaṉ of Pāṇḍya officials in the reign of Parāntaka Varaguṇa I (acc. c. 768 A.D.). It is not known whether Maṅgalapuram has anything to do with these.

[2] *SII*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 46, 79, 80, 82, 83, 88 and 90.

[3] Ibid., Nos. 32, 257 and 258.

[4] Shri Avvai S. Doraiswami Pillai in his *History of Tamil Literature*, Śaiva Literature (p. 6), states that the famous Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang has referred to the death of Chēndaṉ, at the time of the former's sojourn at Kāñchī. He has not cited any reference. None of the books on Yuan Chwang refers to the Pāṇḍya's death. On the other hand the reference is to the king of Siṁhaḷa (see '*The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*', p. 139).

[5] From impressions.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is introduced here and in lines upto line 7 in order to indicate the verse form of the passage (see page 28 above).

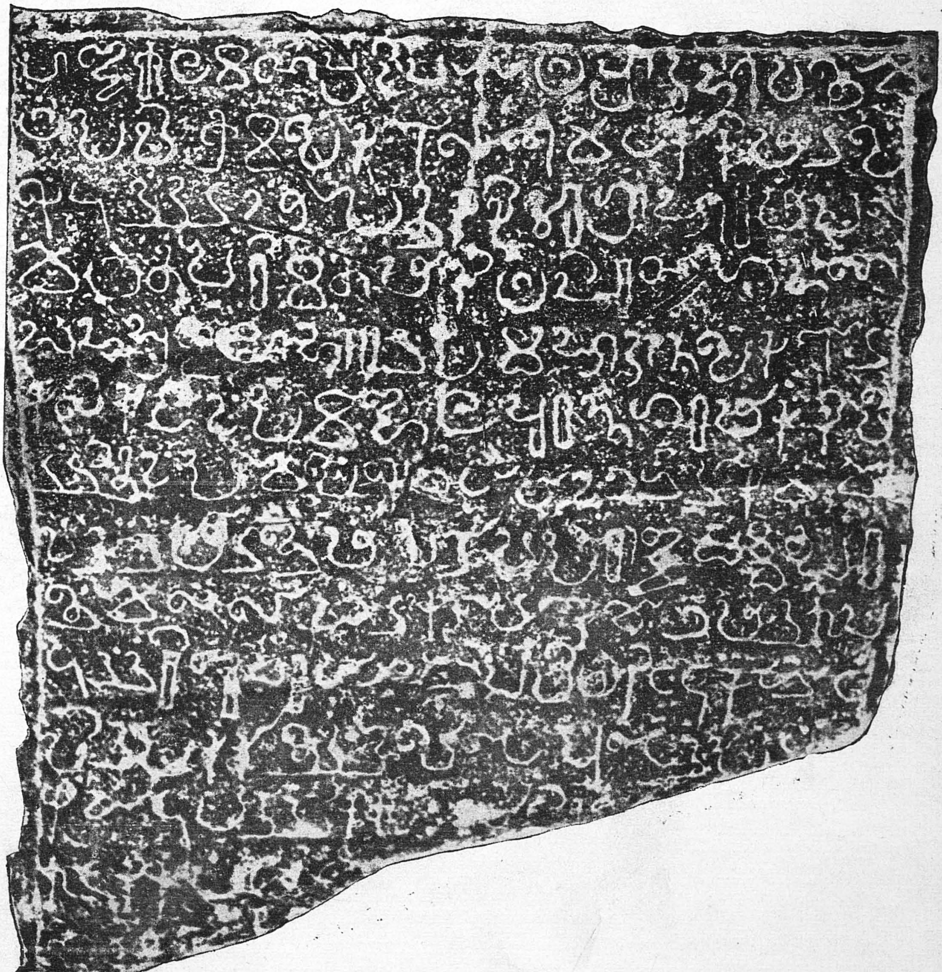
[7] There appears to be a superfluous length sign for *a* attached to *ma*, which may be ignored.

[8] The meaning of this word is not clear.

[9] This looks more like *n* though it would make no sense either.

[10] A medial *e* sign with a dot above can be seen here. The stone slab is broken diagonally from this point to the beginning of line 14.

MADURAI INSCRIPTION OF PANDYA CHENDAN, YEAR 50



Scale : One-fifth

No. 5—TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALWA

(*1 Plate*)

RAMSHARMA, MYSORE

(*Received on 20.5.1967*)

The impressions of the two inscriptions under examination belong to the old collection of the inscriptions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore. Since the records are important for the history of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa and both of them still remain unpublished they are edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

1. Paṭhārī Inscription of the time of Jayasiṁhadēva II, V. S. 1326

The inscription[1] is engraved on a stone slab set up near the eastern bank of the tank at the village **Paṭhārī,** Kurvai Tahsil, Vidisha District, M. P. It was first noticed by F. Kielhorn in his List of Inscriptions of Northern India from a rubbing supplied to him by E. Hultzsch[2] and later on by D. R. Bhandarkar in his List.[3] It has also been noticed by Shri H. N. Dvivedi in his *Abhilēkha.*[4]

The record occupies a space 29·5 cm × 40 cm. It contains seven lines of writing which is bold and deep. The size of the letters is not uniform and they vary in height from 2 cm to 5 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Among the palaeographical features the following are noteworthy. Both the forms of medial sign for *ai* occur here, one of them indicated by a *pṛishṭhamātrā* and a *śirōmātrā* and the other by two *śirōmātrās* as found in *Vai°* (line 1) and *Jai°* (line 3) respectively. So also the earlier form of the medial sign for *au* in *Gau°* (line 4) is noteworthy. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. As regards **orthography,** the following features are note-worthy; *Buddha* for *Budha* in *Buddha-dinē* (line 1); generally the doubling of consonant after *r* as for instance *varttamānē* (line 4) and *kīrtti* (line 6). The influence of local dialect is noticed in some places e.g. *Vaisāsha* (line 1), *Puksha* for *Pushya* (line 2) and *Jaisiṁgha* (line 3).

The inscription commences with a symbol for *Ōm*, which is joined with the following letter *saṁ*. This is followed by the **date V.S. 1326, Vaiśākha śu. 7, Wednesday and Pushya nakshatra,**[5] corresponding regularly to **A.D. 1269, April 10.** In lines 2-3, it is stated that when king **Jayasiṁhadēva** was [ruling] at **Vaḍōvā-pattana,** the record was set up, evidently at Paṭhārī, the findspot of the record. The **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of the *kīrtti*[6] (i.e. the inscribed slab), after the *udyāpana* ceremony was performed on the completion of the construction of an orchard by *Paṁ* Raṇasīha, the son of *Paṁ* Mahaṇasīha who was the son of

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[1] This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. C 2031.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 33, No. 232.

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 575.

[4] Cf. *Gwālior Rājya kē Abhilēkh,* No. 127.

[5] It seems that the year was *Kārttikādi* current. It can also be taken as *Chaitrādi* expired, but there are indications that in this area Southern Vikrama was prevalent during this period. See below p. 35, note 1.

[6] Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (1966), p. 158.

Paṁthī Dōdē of the Gauḍānvaya. The record ends with an auspicious expression and *Śrī* to be repeated five times.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Jayasiṁhadēva. Though the name of the family to which he belonged has not been recorded, it has been now generally accepted[1] that he was Jayasiṁha II who was otherwise called Jayavarman and who flourished in the Paramāra family which was ruling over the Malwa region during the period in question.

Only one geographical name **Vaḍōvāpattana** occurs in the second line and it may be identical with the village Baḍōh, situated in the neighbourhood of Paṭhārī, where some inscriptions[2] of the 11th century have been discovered.

TEXT[3]

1 Ōṁ[4] [|*] **Saṁ 1326 varshē Vaisā(śā)sha(kha) śu 7 Bu[5]ddha(dha)-dinē**

2 **Puksha[6](shya)-nakshatrē** adya(dy=ē)ha **Vaḍōvā-pattanē** samasta-rājā-

3 valī-sahita-**Jai(Jaya)siṁgha(ha)dēva**-rājyē tasmin kā-

4 lē varttamānē Gauḍānvayē Paṁthī Dōdē [su]ta-

5 Paṁ-Mahaṇasīha-[su]ta-Paṁ Raṇasīhēna

6 Vāṭikā-udyāpanārthē kīrtti[ḥ*] sthā[pi*][t=ē]-

7 yaṁ [|*] śubhaṁ bhavata(tu) 5 śrī [|*]

2. Udaipur Inscription of the time of Jayasiṁhadēva III, V.S. 1366

This inscription[7] is engraved on the left pillar of the east porch in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara at **Udaipur**, Basoda Tahsil, Vidisha District, M. P. It was noticed by Kielhorn[8] who took Jayasiṁha of this inscription as the fourth ruler of this name flourishing in the dynasty of the Paramāras of Malwa. G. H. Ojha[9] and H. N. Dvivedi[10] also expressed the same view. D.R. Bhandarkar,[11] however, considered Jayasiṁha II and Jayavarman as identical and therefore took Jayasiṁha of this record as the third and last one. This identity between Jayasiṁha II and Jayavarman has been further supported by the Māndhātā copper-plate grant edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar.[12] But that there was a Jayasiṁha III is not known from any other source except the present inscription.

[1] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 397 ; *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 71 and n. 22 ; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 146. For other views expressed about his identity, cf. Kielhorn's Northern List, Supple. p. 15 ; G. H. Ojha, *Rājputānē kā Itihās* Vol. I, p. 203 ; Dvivedi, *Gwālior Rājya kē Abhilēkh*, Introduction, p. 30, and No. 127 ; C.E. Luard and K. K. Lele, *The Paramāras of Dhār and Mālwa* (Dhār state Gazetteer, 1908), pp. 168-69.

[2] Cf. Dvivedi, *Gwālior Rājya kē Abhilēkh*, Nos. 41 and 49.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Kielhorn reads it as *Vu*.

[6] Kielhorn and Bhandarkar read it as [*shya*], but the form of the letter is quite clear.

[7] This is *A.R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. C 1637.

[8] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84 and above, Vol. V, Appendix, No. 253.

[9] Cf. *Rājputānē kā Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 204.

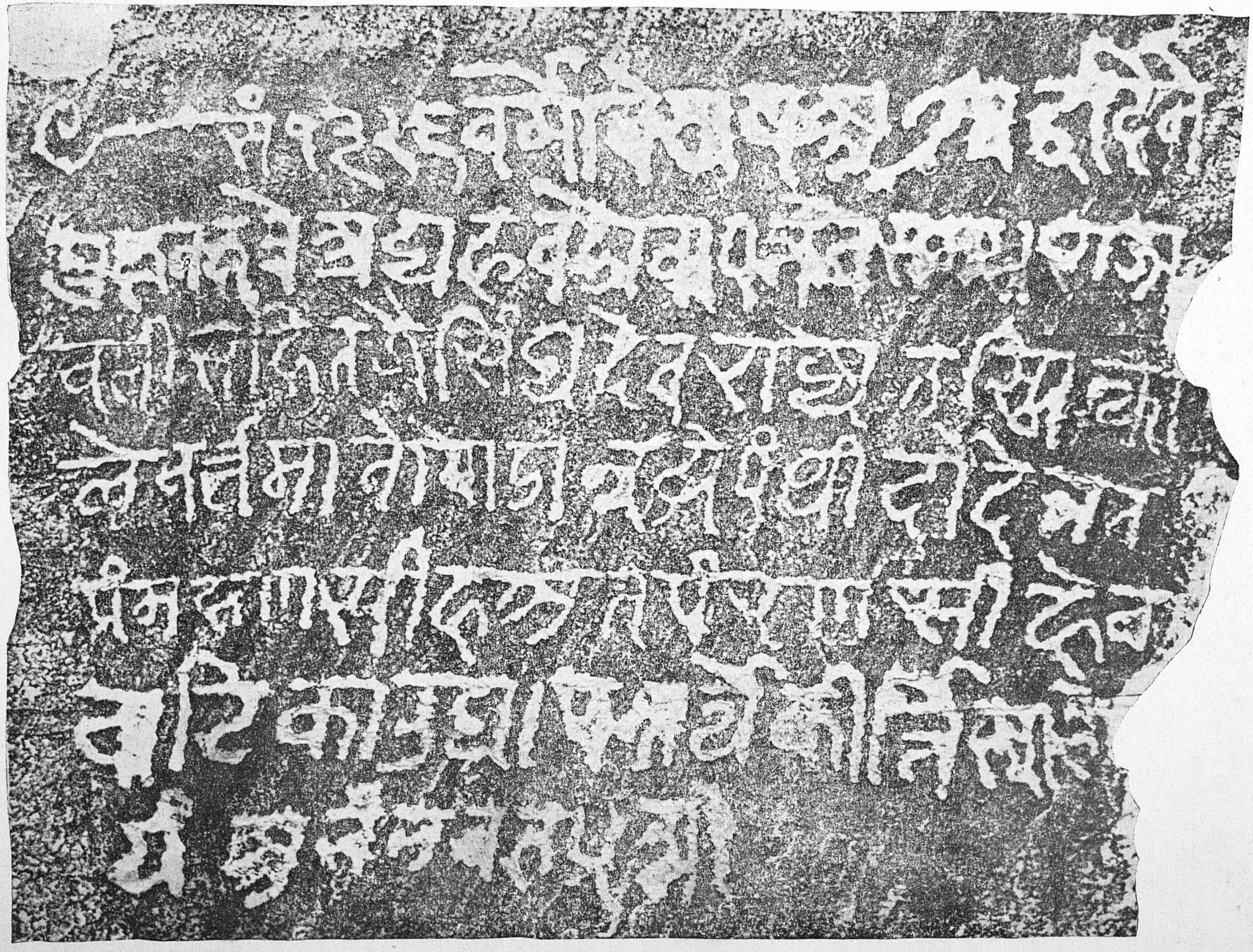
[10] Cf. *Gwālior Rājya kē Abhilēkh*, Introduction, p. 30, and No. 180.

[11] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 661, *genealogical table*, 48, No. 25.

[12] Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 138 ff. and Plates.

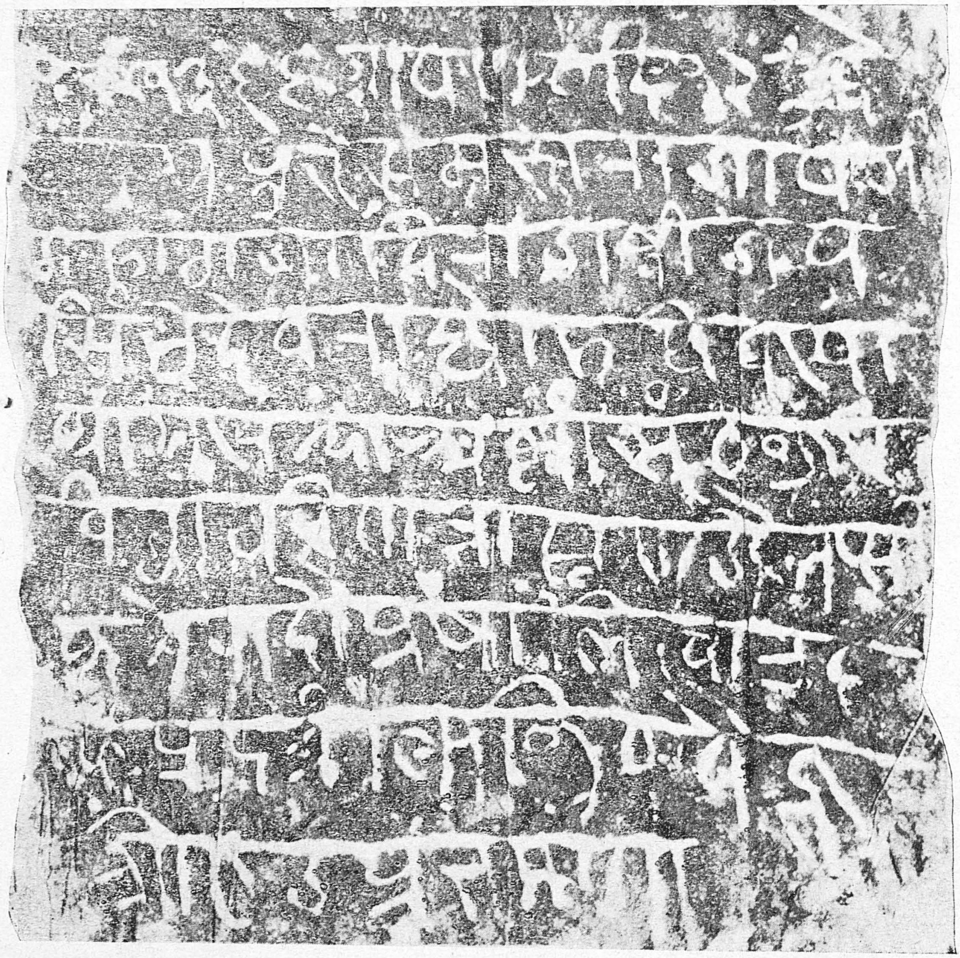
TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALWA

1. Paṭhārī Inscription of the time of Jayasiṁhadēva II, V. S. 1326



Scale : One-half

2. Udaipur Inscription of the time of Jayasiṁhadēva III, V. S. 1366



Scale : Two-fifths

The record occupies a space 32 cm×39 cm. It contains nine lines of writing. Each line consists of about 9 to 11 letters excepting the last one which consists of 7 letters only. The letters vary in size from 2 cm to 5 cm. As a result of the defective engraving the **characters** cannot be stated as representing the standard palaeography of the time, although it may represent the peculiarity of an individual's hand and therefore excepting a few letters like *v*, all the others have taken peculiar forms. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography** the names Jayasiṁgha (lines 3-4) for Jayasiṁha and Jaitasī (line 6) for Jayatsiṁha, as also the words *ashṭamāṁsaṁ* (line 5) for *ashṭamāṁśaṁ* and *prashkālitvā* (line 7) for *prakshālayitvā* are interesting.

The inscription commences with the symbol for *Siddhaṁ* or *Ōṁ* followed by the **date V. S. 1366, Śrāvaṇa ba. 12 [Friday]**, which is equivalent to **1310 A.D., July 24.**[1] Then the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* **Jayasiṁhadēva** over **Udayapura** is mentioned. This statement has been followed by the object of the inscription, which is to record the donation of one-eighth revenue of the total income from the village **Hathivasā** to the Brāhmaṇa Jaitasī by *Ṭhakura* Vidyādhara. The last sentence is not clear, but probably some official's name which seems to be *Ṭha* Vaijja (i.e. Vaidya) śrī-Chandraprabha is recorded as witness.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it mentions a *Mahārājādhirāja* **Jayasiṁha,** who is otherwise unknown and has been taken as the third ruler of this name in the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. Now, this mention of the reign of Jayasiṁha III in V. S. 1366 contradicts the accepted view that Malwa was finally included in the Khalji empire in 1305 A.D.[2] The view is based on the details given by the contemporary Muslim historian Amir Khusru,[3] who states that Malwa was invaded by Alauddin Khalji during the reign of Mālhakadēva, whose general Kōkadēva was killed in the battle. Having lost the battle Mālhakadēva took shelter in the fort of Māṇḍu, where he was killed by Alauddin's general 'Ain-ul-mulk who was led by a secret spy and Māṇḍu was also added to the Government of 'Ain-ul-mulk. Thus the conquest of Malwa was complete in 1305 A.D. But it seems that the conqueror could not keep Malwa under his sway for a long time, as Malwa appears to have regained independence under the leadership of Jayasiṁha III. The inscription in question points to the affluent state of affairs in Malwa under Jayasiṁha III in 1310 A.D.

Two names of **geographical** importance have been mentioned in the inscription. **Udayapura** given in line 2 is a well known place wherefrom the record itself hails. The village **Hathivasā** mentioned in line 4 seems to be identical with the village Hatavāhā in Basoda Tahsil of Vidisha District and situated in the neighbourhood of Udayapura.

TEXT[4]

1 Ōṁ[5] [|*] **Saṁ 1366 Śrāvaṇa badi 12** [**Śukrē**]

2 **Udayapurē** samasta-rājāvalī-[sahita*]-[6]

[1] The year was *Kārttikādi* expired. If it is taken as *Chaitrādi* expired then the equivalent will be 1309 A. D., July 4, but there are some other inscriptions from this and other places in the same region where correct equivalent is found only according to *Kārttikādi* system. Cf. *Ind. Ant.* (1889), Vol. XVIII, pp. 344-46 (discussion on date portions) and Bhandarkar's List Nos. 322, 355, 475, 541, 551 and 628 which indicate that Southern Vikrama should have been prevalent in this region during the time in question.

[2] Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 72.

[3] Cf. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 76.

[4] From ink impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] This word is omitted in the text, but the expression is found in the previous inscription and so it can be supplied here. It may also be read as *mālālaṁkṛita*, which is found in the inscription of Dēvapāladēva, V. S. 1289. (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 83).

3 mahāga(rā)jādhirāja-śrī-**Jaya-**

4 **simghē(ha)dēva**-rājyē | **Hathivasā-**

5 **grāma-**satka ashṭamāṁsaṁ(śaṁ) ṭhakura-

6 Vidyādharēṇa brāhmaṇa-Jaitasī-

7 kṛitē pādau prashkālitvā[1] uda-

8 kē pradattaṁ(ttam) || [ā[jña*]nti(pti) ṭha Vaijja (?)

9 śrī-Chaṁdraprabha [pra*] ma(mā)ṇa ||[2]]

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[1] Read *prakshālayitvā*.

[2] This portion of the text is not clear, but it seems that some official is mentioned here.

No. 6—FIVE CHERA INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY

(*3 Plates*)

C. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

(*Received on 20.1.1967*)

Of the five inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, A and B come from **Poṉṉivāḍi,** Dharapuram Taluk, Coimbatore District, C and D from **Veḷḷalūr** in Coimbatore Taluk and District, while E is from **Kīraṉūr,** Palani Taluk, Madurai District, all in Madras State.

Inscriptions A, B and C belong to the reign of **Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi** who bears the epithets *Chandrāditya-kula-tilakaṉ* and *Sārvabhaumaṉ*. Inscription A gives him an additional epithet of *Satyavrataṉ* and B *Kalinṛipa-kalvaṉ*. While A and B do not give any date, C quotes the **year 24** of his reign. Inscription D belongs to the reign of **Kaṇḍaṉ-Vīranārāyaṇaṉ** and it is dated in the **11th regnal year.** Here too the king bears the epithets *Chandrāditya-kula-tilakan* and *Sārvabhauman*. Inscription E belongs to the reign of **Iravi-Kaṇḍaṉ** and is dated in his **2nd year.** This Ravi-Kaṇḍaṉ bears no epithets. The epithets of these kings and the provenance of these records along with considerations of palaeography lead us to conclude that all these rulers belonged to the same family and were not far removed in time from one another. Scholars have come to the conclusion that these were Chēras, on the ground that their names resemble those of the known Chēra kings (Sthāṇu, Ravi, etc.).[1] It would appear that the names Kaṇḍaṉ and Iravi were popular among the rulers of this family. The two components of these names consist of the name of the father first and the ruler's own name next. Thus Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi and Kaṇḍaṉ-Vīranārāyaṇa were the sons of Kaṇḍaṉ. If both Iravi and Vīranārāyaṇaṉ were the sons of the same Kaṇḍaṉ, Vīranārāyaṇa of D was probably the younger of the two. He might have got the chance to rule during the minority of the heir to his elder brother. The names Kaṇḍaṉ and Iravi are also found in the plates which were discovered at Nāmakkal and edited as Udayēndiram plates,[2] wherein the genealogy of a Vīrachōḷa, who was a subordinate of a Chōḷa ruler named Parakēsarivarman, is described. But whereas the kings in the present inscriptions claim to be of *Chandrāditya-kula* (i.e. born of a conjunction of both the Solar and Lunar races), the genealogy given in the extant portion of the fragmentary Nāmakkal plates is of the Solar family.[3] But it is quite likely that the missing fourth plate gave the grounds on which this epithet is based. It may be that some members of this family had a marriage alliance with the Pāṇḍya family, who claimed lunar descent and that such an important alliance led them to assume this title.

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[1] *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Introduction, p. 61.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 79-82. The second plate which is published gives the genealogy up to Raghu and the third plate continues the line as Daśaratha, Rāma and in the family of Rāma, Mahābāhu, Kērala Jagatpati(?), Maṇikuṭṭuva, Kōta (Kōdai), Ravi, Kaṇṭha. The genealogy after Kaṇṭha up to Vīrachōḷa was evidently given in the fourth plate which is lost to us. It is not known whether the epithet *Chandrāditya-kula*, ocurring in A, B, C and D above, occurs in the last plate though the ancestry is traced to the Sun. However, Vīrachōḷa, the donor of the copper plate was no doubt a prince of the family and was a feudatory of Parakēsari who can be no other than Parāntaka I after whose title the donor came to be known as Vīrachōḷa. The gap between Ravi-Kaṇḍaṉ of inscription E and this Vīrachōḷa cannot however be restored in the present state of our knowledge. Another inscription from Pērūr (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 223) refers to Kaṇḍaṉ Iravi and Iravi Kaṇḍaṉ. It is not known whether they belong to this family. The identity of Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi with the namesakes of our records is not certain.

[3] In this connection we may point out that some of the Pāṇḍya rulers of this period also described themselves as descended from both the Solar and Lunar families. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, p. 15 wherein the king Jaṭilavarman has been designated as a *Chandrārkānvayadīpa*.

Inscriptions C and D record that the two pillars on which they are engraved were caused to be set up in the Nakkaṇār *maṇḍapa*, obviously the *maṇḍapa* where these pillars are today. But the *maṇḍapa* as it is today, as pointed out in the Annual Report,[1] is not in its original form, since there are other pillars bearing later inscriptions. One of them[2] recording the gift of the pillar on which it is engraved, is dated in the 14th year of king Vikramachōḷa who was removed from Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi and Kaṇḍaṉ-Vīranārāyaṇaṉ by more than a century. This fact suggests that the whole *maṇḍapa* had been renovated later on.

An inscription from Piramiyam[3] in Dharapuram Taluk, in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of a slightly earlier period, is dated in the 6+9th regnal year of a Varaguṇa Parāntaka described as *Chandrāditya-kulatilakaṉ* and *Sārvabhaumaṉ*. There was no doubt a Varaguṇa Parāntaka in the Pāṇḍya family. But the titles of this ruler coupled with considerations of palaeography and the provenance of this inscription preclude the identification of this ruler of the Piramiyam inscription with his namesake of the Pāṇḍya family. Probably herein we get an inkling into the origin of the epithet *Chandrādityakula-tilakaṉ* as this prince might have been named so as his mother was a daughter of the Pāṇḍya king of that name.

A.—POṈṈIVĀḌI INSCRIPTION OF KAṆḌAṈ-IRAVI

This inscription[4] in Grantha and Vaṭṭeḻuttu **scripts** of the 9th century and Tamil **language** is engraved on a loose stone which must have formed a balustrade in the Nirmalīśvara temple at **Poṉṉivāḍi** in Dharapuram Taluk, Coimbatore District. This undated inscription refers to the construction of a temple by Kaḷiyaṅkaṟaiyāṉ, a servant (*aḍiyāṉ*) of the king, **Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi**. The name of the temple or of the deity is not given in the record. The temple referred to here is evidently the one near which the stone on which the inscription is engraved was found. However, two later records[5] engraved on the rock near inscription B, dated in the 7th (1214-15 A.D.) and 12th (1219-20 A. D.) years in the reign of Vīrarājēndra, who is no doubt identical with the Koṅgu king of that name, refer to the deity of this temple as Nirmaṇīśvaram-uḍaiyār and Nimmaṇidēvar respectively. Both the inscriptions record endowments made by the residents of Nirmaṇi in Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu. The place which is now called Poṉṉivāḍi is evidently the Nirmaṇi of the inscriptions cited here and Nirmaṇīśvara has been, in course of time, changed into Nirmalīśvara as the deity is now called. However, inscription B which belongs to the same king as in A gives the name Nirmini (for Nirmaṇi)-vāykkāl as one of the boundaries of the land granted. The provenance indicates clearly that the names of the village and the deity would have been Nirmaṇi and Nirmaṇīśvara respectively in the period to which this record is assigned i.e., the 9th century.

Regarding **orthography**, the following may be noted. The form of *rēpha* in *rva* in line 3 is peculiar. The letters *n* of the previous word and *sa* of the following word are written as a conjunct letter in line 3 of the record. This can be seen in the case of °*bhauman Satyavrataṉ*. The medial vowel sign for *i* in *Kaḷiyaṅ*° in line 5 is written not in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu fashion but by putting it right above the letter as in the Tamil script. *Puḷḷis* (dots) are marked over the consonants except in the following cases : line 6—the consonant *t* in the word °*eḍuppitta* and *k* in the word °*tirukkōyi*.

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1911, Para 4, pp. 56-57. Also see, *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, pp. 56-57.

[2] Ibid., 1910, No. B 145.

[3] Ibid., 1920, No. B. 208.

[4] Ibid., 1961-62, No. B. 269.

[5] Ibid., Nos. B. 272 and 273.

A. Ponnivāḍi Inscription of Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi

Scale : One-third

G. S. Gai

B. Poṉṉivāḍi Inscription of Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi

Scale : One-fourth

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Chandrādi-

2 tya-kula-tilakan-Sā-

3 rvabhauman=Satyavrata-

4 ṉ=āgiya kōk-**Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi**

5 aḍiyāṉ Kaḷiyaṅkaṟai-

6 yāṉ eḍuppitta tiruk-kōyi-

7 l [||*]

B.—PONNIVĀḌI INSCRIPTION OF KAṆḌAN-IRAVI

This inscription[2] in Tamil **script** of the 9th century and Tamil **language** with the usual admixture of Grantha characters is engraved on a rock in front of the Gaṇēśa shrine to the south of the same temple as in A. This records a grant of land in Śēkerinallūr (Śēkhari-nallūr) as *uṉṉāḻigaip-puṟam* for the maintenance of worship of the god in the *uṉṉāḻigai* i.e., the central shrine by Maṇiyaṉ, a servant (*aḍi-āḷ*) of the king. The land is said to have been brought under cultivation by the donor himself.

Dots (*puḷḷis*) are used in all the consonants of the record. *N* is written with the short *ṉ* and the sign for length instead of the extension of its downward stroke and *āyiṉa* is written[3] as *āiṉa* in line 2. The vowels *a* and *ā* in the Tamil word *aḍi-āḷ*° are in Grantha. The engraver had apparently drawn lines before engraving the record and had also enclosed the sides with vertical lines making up a square and thus had intended to engrave the entire record between the lines. Yet the last two lines could not be accommodated and hence they are out side the square.

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Cha[4]ndrāti(di)tyak[5]-kula-tilakaṉ Sā-

2 rvvabhaumaṉ Kaliniruva(pa)-kaḷvaṉ=āiṉa kō-

3 k-**Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi** aḍi-āḷāga[6] Maṇiyaṉ Śēkeri[na]-

4 llūrt-tāṉ vayakkiṉa nilattiṟ-Paḷḷap-pō-

5 ḻi[yi]ṟ [Neṟ]peṭṭup-pōḻiyiṉ vaḍakku Maṇi-

6 yaṉ-vayakkukkup-pōnda kava[ri]ṉ mēkku Nīrmiṇi-vā-

7 yk[kā]liṉ kiḻakku Śe[ṅg]an[ti]ḍaṟkāga[k][7] kavarupōḻi uṉṉā-

8 ḻigaip-puṟam=āga aṭṭinēṉ[|·]

9 Maṇiyaṉ vaya..[8]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62 No. B 271.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 115. This appears to be a general feature of the early Tamil records in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters.

[4] This letter is in Tamil and is actually written like *chi*.

[5] This letter is unnecessary.

[6] Read °*aḷāṉa* or °*āḷāgiya*.

[7] Read *Śeṅgantiḍaṟkut-teṟku āgak*°.

[8] Read *vayakku* or °*vayakkal*.

C.—VELLALŪR INSCRIPTION OF KAṆḌAN-IRAVI : YEAR 24

This inscription[1] in Tamil script, with an admixture of Grantha, of the 9th century and Tamil language, is engraved on two faces of a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tēṉīśvara temple at Veḷḷalūr, Dharapuram Taluk, Coimbatore District. It is dated in the 24th regnal year of the king Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi and refers to the gift of the stone pillar, apparently the one on which the inscription is engraved, to the Nakkaṉār *maṇḍapa* at Veḷilūrt-Teṉṉūr by Kaṇṇaṅ-Kāvaṉ, a resident (or headman) of Māgalūr. The king, in this record bears the title *Chandrāditya-kula-tilaka* and *Sārvabhauma*. The name of the place according to the inscription is Vēḷilūr which in course of time has changed into Veḷḷalūr. Teṉṉūr is probably the name of the locality where the temple is situated. The names Teṉṉūr-Patiyuḷār and Tenūr-Āṇḍār occurring in other inscriptions[2] copied from this place lend support to this inference. The expression *Nakkaṉār-maṇḍapattukku* indicates that Nakkaṉār may be the name of a deity.

The form of letter *ṇ* is not uniform throughout the record. Traces of influence of Vaṭṭeḻuttu can be seen from the way in which the *i* sign in line 4 is written. The letters *n* of the previous word and *sa* of the following word in line 3 of the record are written as a conjunct letter.[3] The Grantha ligature *ṇḍa* is used throughout the record e.g., *Kaṇḍa* (line 4), *yāṇḍu* (line 6), *āṇḍu* (line 8) and *maṇḍapa* (line 10). The place Māgalūr cannot be identified.

TEXT[4]

Face 1

1 Svasthi(ti) Śrī [||*] Chantrā(drā)-

2 ditya-kula-[ti]laka-

3 n-Sārvabhauma[ṉ-ā]-

4 giya śrī-kōk-Kaṇḍa-

5 ṉṉ-Iravikkuch=che-

6 llāniṉṟa yāṇḍu

7 irupattu-nāṉ-

8 gu ivv-āṇḍu Ve[5]ḷi-

Face 2

9 lūrt-Teṉṉū-

10 r-Nakkaṉār-maṇḍa

11 pattukku Ōma-_ _ _

12 [yintra]ṉ Māgalū-

13 r-kiḻe(ḻā)ṉ Kaṉ-

---

[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1910, No. B. 148.

[2] Ibid., Nos. 144 and 149 respectively.

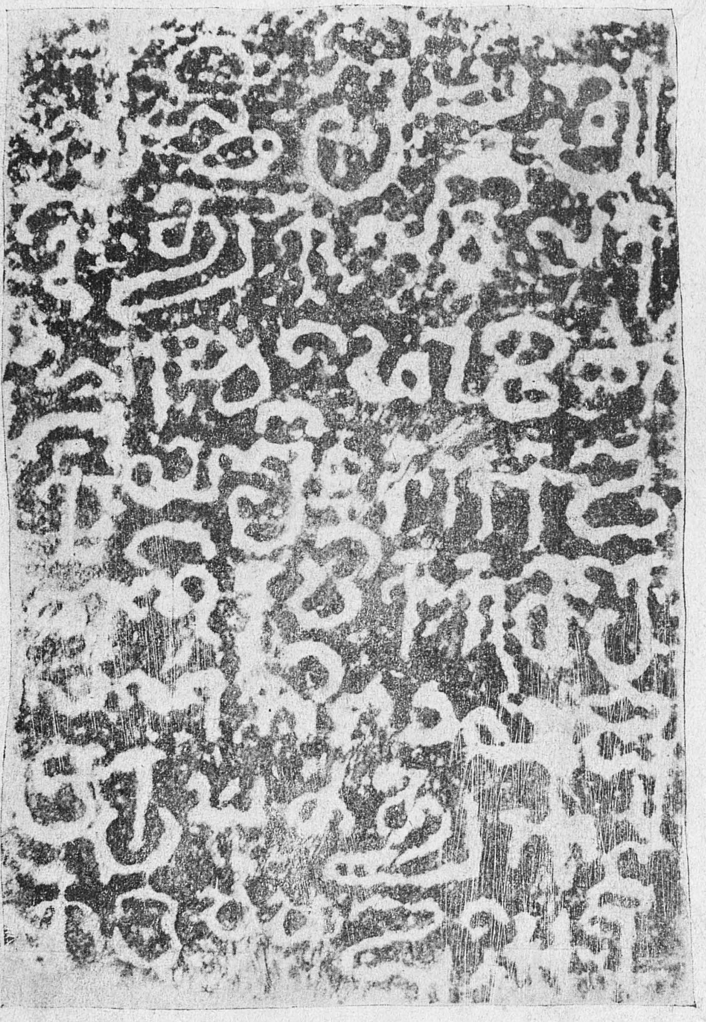
[3] See A above.

[4] From impressions.

[5] There is an unnecessary medial *i* sign added to *va*.

C. Veḷḷalūr Inscription of Kaṇḍaṉ-Iravi

i



Scale : Two-fifths

ii

Scale : One-third

G. S. Gai

D. Veḷḷalūr Inscription of Kaṇḍaṉ-Vīranārāyaṇaṉ : Year 11

i

ii

Scale : Two-fifths

14 ṉaṅ-Kāvaṉeṉ

15 ṉā[ṉ*] naḍuvitta

16 kaṟ-ṟūṉ [||*]

D.—VEḶḶALŪR INSCRIPTION OF KAṆḌAN VĪRANĀRĀYAṆAN: YEAR 11

This inscription[1] in Tamil **script**, with the usual admixture of Grantha, of the 9th century and Tamil **language** is engraved on three faces of another pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* where inscription C is engraved. The titles occurring in the first three lines are written in Grantha as in A above. This inscription is dated in the **11th regnal year** of the king, **Kaṇḍaṉ-Vīranārāyaṇaṉ** and it records the gift of the stone pillar to the *maṇḍapa* of Nakkaṉār at **Veḷilūrt-Teṉṉūr** by Vaṇṇakkaṉ Mūrkkañ-Chellaṉ and his younger brother Mūrkkaṉ-Ēṟaṉ for the merit of their father Ēṟa-Mūrkkaṉār.

Straight lines are drawn at the bottom of the first four lines only in this record by the engraver.

TEXT[2]

Face 1

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Chandrā-

2 ditya-kula-tila-

3 ka [n-Sā]rvvabhauman=ā-

4 giya śrī-kōk-**Ka-**

5 **ṇḍaṉ-Vīra-**

Face 2

6 **nārāyaṇa[ṟ]-**

7 kuch=chellāni-

8 ṉṟa **yāṇḍu padi-**

9 **ṉoṉṟu** ivv-ā-

10 ṇḍu **Veḷilūr-**

11 **t-Teṉṉūr-**Nak-

12 kaṉār-maṇḍapattu-

13 kku Vaṇṇakkaṉ

14 Mūrkkañ-Chella-

15 [ṉu][m*] tambi Mūrkka[ṉ-Ē]

---

1 *A. R. Ep.*, 1910, No. 147.

2 From impressions.

Face 3

16 ṟaṉum tamm-a-

17 ppaṉār-Ēṟa-Mūr-

18 kkaṉāṟaich=chār-

19 tti [na]ḍuvitta ka-

20 ṟi(ṟ)-ṟūṉ [||*]

E.—KĪRAṈŪR INSCRIPTION OF RAVI-KAṆḌAN : YEAR 2

This inscription[1] in Tamil script of the 9th-10th century and Tamil language is engraved at the door-step of the kitchen in the Vāgīsvarasvāmin temple at **Kīraṉūr** in Palani Tāluk, Madurai District. It is incomplete. It quotes the **year 2** of the reign of king **Iravi(Ravi)-Kaṇḍaṉ.** Its purport is not known since the portion recording the grant is lost. The use of dots (*puḷḷis*) is noteworthy. Straight lines have been drawn between which the text of the inscription is engraved.[2] In quoting the king's regnal year the inscription uses the expression *tiruveḻuttu* (line 3) which is absent in the other dated inscriptions (C and D) edited above. It may be noted that this expression is ordinarily found to be used in the later records[3] of the rulers of this area as *tiruveḻutt-iṭṭuch-chellāniṉṟa.* Thus this is the earliest inscription where this expression *tiruveḻuttu-ch-chellāniṉṟa* is used.

TEXT[4]

1 Śrī [||*]Kōv-**Iravi**-

2 **Kaṇḍaṟkut=**

3 triuveḻuttu-

4 ch=chellāni-

5 ṉṟa **yāṭ-**

6 **ḍu iraṇḍu** a[ṟṟu]-

7 ppēr. ḷu[5]

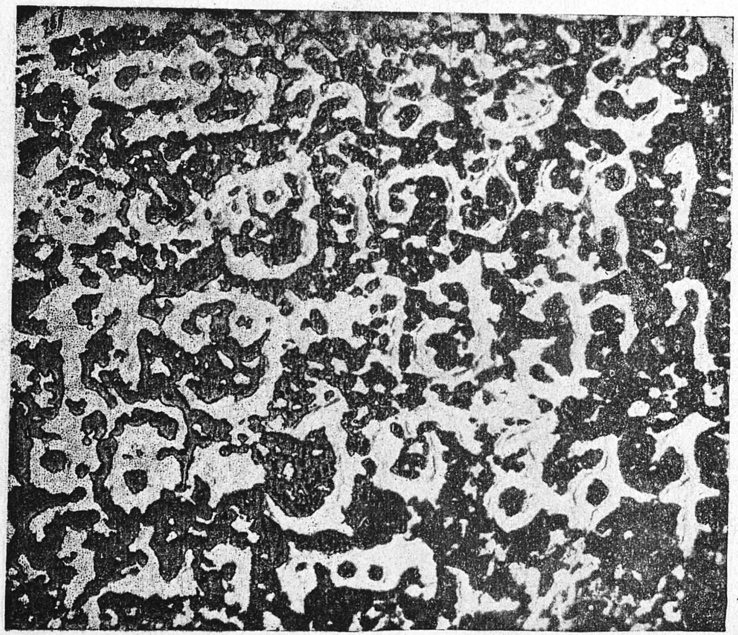
---

[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B. 252.
[2] Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, Nos. B 272 and 1910, No. 147.
[3] See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 102 ff.
[4] From impressions.
[5] The remaining portion is lost.

D. Veḻḻalūr Inscription of Kaṇḍaṉ-Vīranārāyaṇaṉ, Year 11

iii

16 18 20



16 18 20

Scale : Two-fifths

Kiraṉūr Inscription of Ravi-Kaṇḍaṉ : Year 2

2 4 6

2 4 6

Scale : One-fourth

No. 7—VARADA INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA SAMANTASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1347

(*1 Plate*)

C. L. Suri, Mysore

(*Received on 15.9.1967*)

The inscription[1] edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India was copied by me at **Varāḍā**, Sirohi Tahsil and District, Rajasthan, during my collection tour in the beginning of 1963. The marble stone bearing the inscription was found under a tree about half a mile to the north of the village. The record is engraved below the representations, in relief, of the sun and the moon, and a cow with a calf. It consists of 12 lines of writing which covers an area measuring 27·5 cm×26 cm. The last line begins from the middle of the slab. The record is in a fairly good state of preservation. However, a few letters have been damaged in lines 8 and 9. The last letter at the end of some of the lines is also damaged due to the peeling off of the stone ; but they can be restored without any difficulty.

The record is written in Nāgarī **characters** which are regular for the period in question. The form of medial *ū* in *pūjā* (line 7) and *bhūmi* (line 11) is interesting. Medial *ē* and *ō* are indicated by a *pṛishṭhamātrā* except in *rājyē* (line 3) where a *śirōmātrā* is used to indicate it. Medial *ai* and *au* are invariably indicated by one *pṛishṭhamātrā* and one *śirōmātrā*. The central curve of *ja* has almost become a vertical stroke in some places (see *Jābāli*° and *rājakula*, line 2) while the earlier form with the central curve is also found (see *vijaya*, line 3 and *rājabhiḥ*, line 10).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its composition is in prose but for an imprecatory verse at the end. The use of the word *dyayēha* for *adyēha* and *Sāṁmata*° for *Sāmaṁta*° perhaps shows the influence of local pronunciation on the orthography. It may also be noted that *b* has been distinguished from *v* (cf. *jābāli*, line 2 and *bahubhiḥ*, line 10) and that the consonants following *r* have not been reduplicated except once in *pravartta*° (line 5). The abbreviated forms *mahaṁ*° (line 4) and *Sō*°[2] (line 8) are found in the record. Of these, *mahaṁ*° is well known and occurs in numerous records of this period. *Sō*°[2] appears to be another form of *Sau*°[3] standing for *Sōlaṅkī*.

The record is dated **Vikrama 1347, Chaitra vadi 10, Sunday** which regularly corresponds to **1291 A.D., February 25,** according to the *Kārttikādi* system.

The inscription refers to the victorious reign of *Mahārājakula* **Sāmaṁtasīhadēva** ruling at **Jābālipura.** He is no doubt identical with Sāmantasiṁha, son and successor of *Mahārājakula* Chāchigadēva of the Sōngirā or Jalore branch of the Chāhamāna family. A number of records of this king has been discovered with dates ranging between V.S. 1339 and 1362.[4]

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[1] This is No. B 449 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1963-64.

[2] For the abbreviation *Sō*°, see Diskalkar, *Kathiawad Inscriptions*, No. 80.

[3] Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B 475.

[4] See Bhandarkar's List, p. 383. Another new record of this king has been found at Pōsītarā in the Sirohi Tahsil. This inscription is considerably damaged, resulting in the loss of its date portion. That the record belongs to the latar part of Sāmantasiṁha's reign is indicated by the mention of his son and successor *Rāja* Kā[uhaḍadēva] (cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B 591 and Introduction p. 8).

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of one *arahaṭṭa*[1] in **Vrahāḍā-grāma to** provide for the *ashṭāhnikā* worship and offerings in the Mahāvīra-chaitya in the Chaṁdaṇa-vihāra. This Chaṁdana-vihāra is mentioned in some inscriptions of the time of Chāchigadēva[2] and was apparently named after king Chandana of the Jalore branch of the Paramāras. The grant was made during the administration of the *paṁchakula* consisting of *Mahaṁ*° Kītala and others.

The grant was made for the performance of *bali-pūjā* which lasted for eight days as evidenced by the expression *ashṭāhnikā-balipūjā*. It is described as *Ashṭāhika-mahōtsava* in the Mount Abu Inscriptions[3] of Tējaḥpāla and Vastupāla, dated V.S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) and as *Ashṭāhnikā-mahōtsava* in the Jalore inscription[4] of Chāchigadēva, dated V.S. 1331 (1274 A.D.). According to the Mount Abu inscriptions, the celebration of the festival began on the third day of the dark half of Chaitra and ended on the 10th day of the same month. Thus, Chaitra badi 10 of the present inscription seems to have fallen on the last day of the festival when a grant was made in favour of the temple.[5] This would make us believe that the *Ashṭāhnikā* festival was conducted only in the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra. But that it was not so is shown by the Jalore inscription referred to above. According to that inscription, a grant was made on the occasion of the *Ashṭāhnikā* festival which was conducted on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja. As the Mount Abu inscription refers to the celebration of this festival on the anniversary of the installation of an image,[6] it would appear that it could be celebrated on all important events connected with a temple or an institution.

The description of the donor is given in lines 8 and 9. A few letters preceeding the expression *arahaṭṭaḥ pradattaḥ* in line 9 and following the name of a queen (*rājñī*) in nominative singular in line 8, appear to read [*bhrā*]*tṛi-Rāvala*-[*samashya*], the meaning of which is not clear. It is, therefore, difficult to find out who made the above-mentioned grant. However, it is not unlikely that the name of the queen is wrongly given in the nominative case instead of instrumental case. If it was so, as is likely, the grant was made by a queen of Sāmantasiṁha whose name appears to be Lalatādēvi.[7] The word *samashya* in the expression [*bhrā*]*tṛi-Rāvala*-[*samashya*] may be taken to be a corrupt form of the word *samakshaṁ*. If it is so, the expression would mean that the grant was made by the queen Lalatādēvi in the presence of her brother Rāvala.[8] The present inscription is the only record mentioning the name of a queen of Sāmantasiṁha. She is stated to be the daughter of *Sō*° (Sōlaṅkī) Puḍimala. The latter seems to have been only a local chief as he is not endowed with any title. The record ends with an imprecatory verse in lines 10-11.

Of the place names mentioned in the record, **Jābālipura** is modern Jalore and **Vrahāḍā-grāma** is evidently the same as village Varāḍā, the findspot of the inscription.

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1 The word *arahaṭṭa* occurs in some other inscriptions of the period, viz. Barlūṭ (Sirohi District) inscription (above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 38, text line 5 and n. 4) and is the same as Sanskrit *araghaṭṭa*.

2 See, P.C. Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, Part I, p. 240, Nos. 901-02 and above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 46-47.

3 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 219 ff.

4 Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 46 ff. It is mentioned as *Ashṭāhnikapadi* in another inscription from Jalore, dated V.S. 1320 (ibid., p. 47).

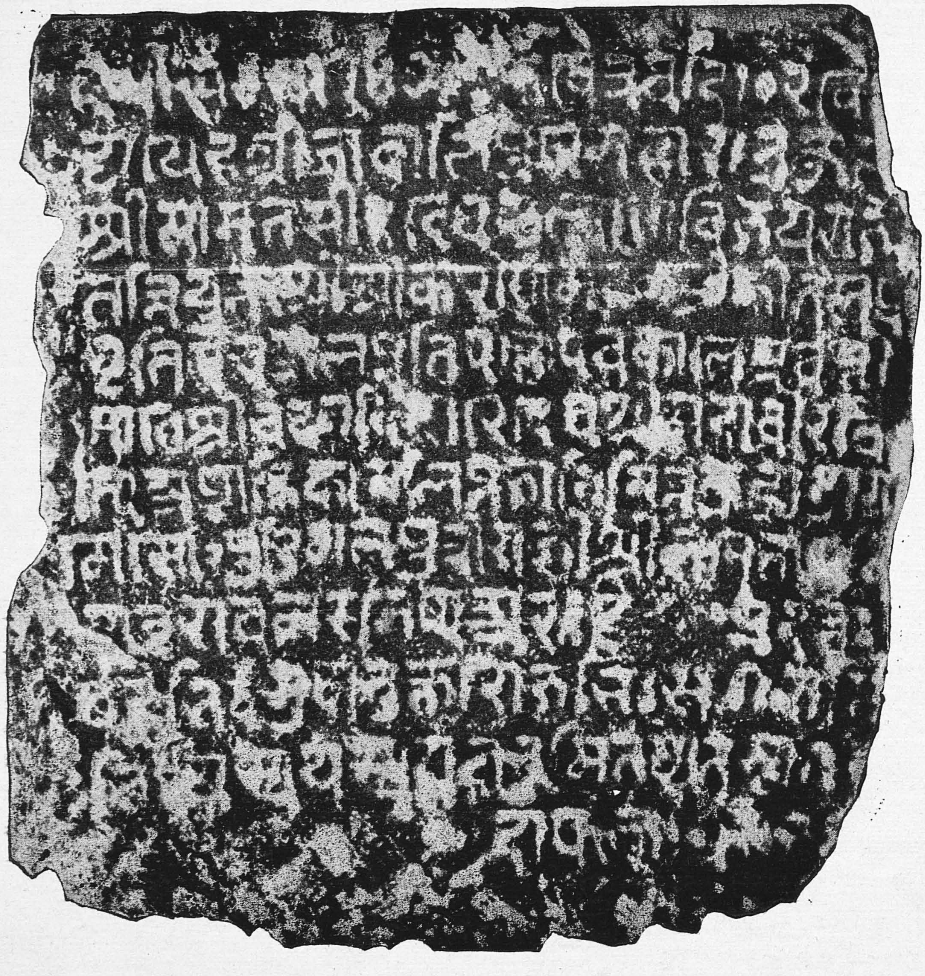
5 The language of the record, however, seems to indicate that the grant was made in the beginning of the festival.

6 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 220, text line 12.

7 Lalatādēvī is the same as Lalitādēvi which seems to have been a popular name in the thirteenth century; cf. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 202 and 478-79.

8 The word *Rāvala* can as well be taken as the title of Lalatādēvi's brother whose name is perhaps given in the following three letters, doubtfully read as *samashya*. In that case, the brother of the queen Lalatādēvi was the donor.

VARADA INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA SAMANTASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1347



Scale : One-half

TEXT[1]

1 Siddham[2] || **Saṁ[vat] 1347 [Varshē] Chaitra-vadi 10 Ra[vau]**

2 dyayēha[3] śrī-**Jābālipurē** mahārāja[4]ku[la]-

3 śrī-**Sāmṁatasīhadēva**[5]**-[ka]lyāṇa-vijaya-rāj[yē]**

4 tan-niyukta-śrī-Śrīkaraṇē maha[ṁ]-śrī-[Kī]tala-pra-

5 bhṛiti-paṁchakula-pratipattau ēvaṁ-kālē pravatīī(rtta)-

6 māṇē śrī-Chaṁdana-vi[h]ārē dēva-śrī-Mahāvīra-[chai]-

7 tyē[6] ashṭāhnikā-bali-pūjā-nimittaṁ **Vrahāḍā**-gr[ā]-

8 mē Sō° [Pu]ḍimala - puttrī-rājñī-śrī-La[la(li)]tā[dēvi]

9 .tri-Rāvala-[sa]mashya[7] arahaṭṭa[ḥ[8] 1] pradattaḥ [l]

10 Ba[hu]bhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ā[di]-

11 bhiḥ [l*]yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya [ta]-

12 dā phalaṁ(lam)[9] [||*]

---

[1] From impressions.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Read *adyēha.*
[4] This *ja* is carelessly engraved and looks like initial *u.*
[5] Read *Sāmaṁta siṁhadēva.*
[6] The medial *ē* sign is joined with the vertical line running down from lines 4 to 6 in the left hand margin.
[7] The intended reading seems to be *bhrātṛi-Rāvala-samakshaṁ.*
[8] Skt. *araghaṭṭa.*
[9] This line begins from the middle of the slab.

No. 8—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF RAMAGUPTA

(*2 Plates*)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

(*Received on 21.4.1969*)

About the end of January 1969, I received from Shri C. Krishna, Deputy Director of Archaeelogy, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal, impressions of about ten inscriptions, collected by his department, for examination and publication. This collection contained impressions of two records on the pedestals of two Jaina images kept in the Vidisha Museum. According to Shri Krishna, they were discovered at a village called **Durjanpura** in Vidisha District of Madhya Pradesh. Though the impressions were not satisfactory, on a careful examination they were found to be very important in throwing fresh light on the history of the Guptas.[1] I, therefore, visited Vidisha Museum in March 1969 and examined the inscriptions *in situ* and took good impressions and photographs of the same.[2] On enquiry, I was told that three Jaina images, called here **A**, **B** and **C**, which are now kept in the Museum, were found while clearing a field with a bulldozer in the village of Durjanpura, about 2 miles from Besnagar which has yielded the famous Garuda pillar inscription of Heliodorus.[3] By the action of the bulldozer, all the three images have suffered damage, particularly in their faces and sides. While the faces of the images of **A** and **B** are completely broken away that of **C** is partially preserved. While the attendant figures and the right and left-hand portions of the *prabhāvali* of image **B** are well preserved, the face of proper left-hand attendant figure of image **A** is damaged. In **C**, both the attendant figures and the *prabhāvali* have disappeared. All the three images are inscribed on their pedestals. While the inscription on **A** is well-preserved and complete, that on **B** has suffered damage in the last two lines and on **C** it is completely effaced, though some words and letters can be traced with difficulty in the first two lines with the help of the texts of the first two records.

A study of the sculptural features and styles of the three Jaina images would show that they all belong to the same group and can be attributed to the Gupta period of about the 4th century A.D. This dating, as would be shown below, is in consonance with the palaeography of the records on them. The *prabhāvali* is not so much developed and stylised as in the case of the Buddha images at Sanchi which are attributed to the 5th century A.D.[4] The fact that only *chakra* is represented in the centre of the pedestals of all the three images and not the characteristic *lāñchhanas* of the respective *Tīrthaṅkaras* also indicates the early stage in the development of Jaina iconography. The two sets of *Chauri*-bearers in **A** and **B** differ in their dress and in some minor details.

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[1] A Press Note drawing the attention of the public to the importance of these two inscriptions was released by the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, and was published in several Newspapers between 12.3.1969 and 23.3.1969.

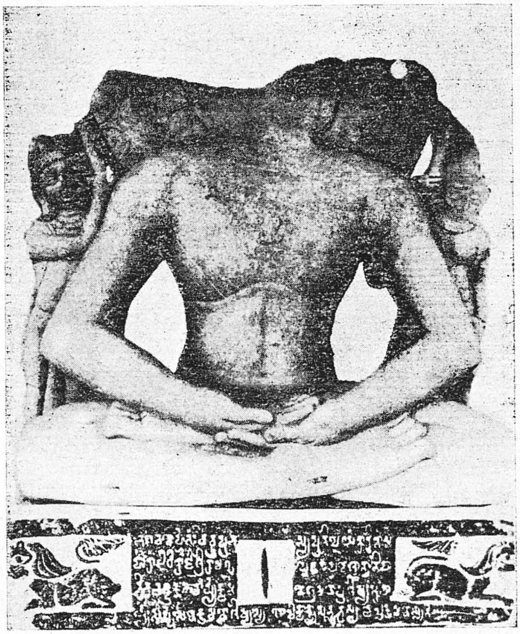
[2] I am thankful to Shri Krishna for sending me the impressions of the inscriptions and also for his co-operation in this regard. I am also thankful to the authorities of the Vidisha Museum for the facilities provided in copying and studying the inscriptions there and also for photographing the images.

[3] *Arch. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, p. 126.

[4] See *Monuments of Sanchi*, ed. by Marshall and Majumdar, Vol. II, Plate LXX.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF RAMAGUPTA—PLATE I

Image A

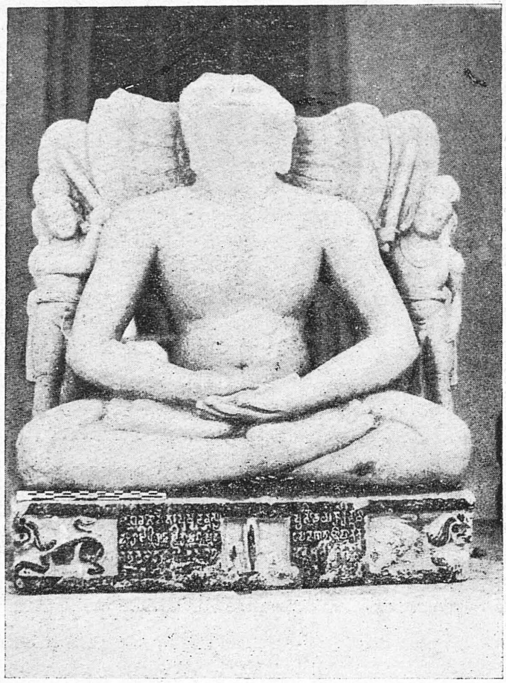


(From Photograph)

Inscription on Image A

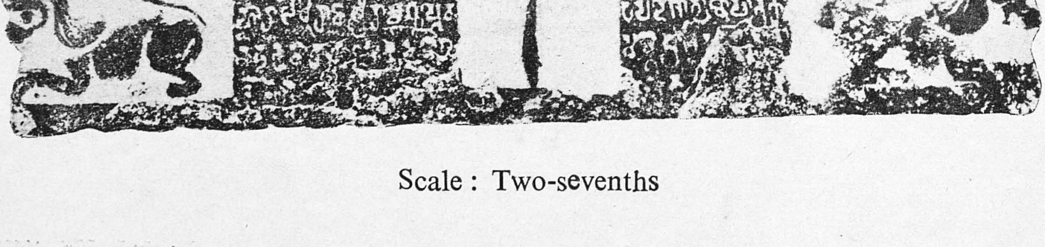
Scale : Two-sevenths

Image B



(From Photograph)

Inscription on Image B



Scale : Two-sevenths

The inscriptions which do not contain any date are engraved in Gupta **characters** of about the 4th century A. D. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Sanchi inscription[1] of Chandragupta II dated in the Gupta year 93, and to some extent that of the Eran inscription[2] of Samudragupta. We may compare the individual letters like *u, k, g, n, p, bh, m, y, r, l, ś, s* and *h* appearing in inscriptions on **A** and **B** which are very similar to these letters in the Sanchi inscription. Letters like *y, r, l* and *s* also resemble those in the Eran inscription of Samudragupta. And the letters *m, r, l, s* and *h* are of the so-called southern or western variety of the Gupta alphabet as in the case of the Sanchi inscription. The medial *i* in our records has, however, more flourish than in the Sanchi inscription where it is just a circle on the top of the letter. But such a feature cannot be regarded as a later one since it appears even in earlier records like the Nāndsā Yūpa inscriptions[3] of the 3rd century A.D. Thus from the palaeographical point of view, the records can be assigned to about the 4th century A.D. and this dating is supported, as shown above, by the stylistic features of the Jaina images containing these records.

In respect of **orthography**, it may be noted that the consonant following *r* is doubled in *Sarppasēna* (**A**) and that the class-nasal is used in the words *Chandraprabha* (**A**), *Pushpadanta* (**B**) and *Chandrakshama°* (**A** and **B**). The **language** of the three records is Sanskrit.

The two inscriptions on **A** and **B** contain 4 lines each and give identical text in the first two lines except the name of the image. The inscription on **C** also appears to be in 4 lines with a similar draft. While the record on **A** states that the image of Chandraprabha was made by *Mahārājādhirāja* **Rāmagupta**, that on **B** refers to the making of the image of Pushpadanta by the same ruler. The name of the image in **C** appears to read Padmaprabha. The record on **A** further informs us that this act of Rāmagupta (*viz.* the making of the image of Chandraprabha) was done on the advice or at the instance (*upadēśa*) of Chēlū-kshamaṇa, son of Gōlakyāntī and pupil of *Āchārya* Sarppasēna-kshamaṇa who was the grand-pupil (i.e. pupil's pupil) of the Jaina teacher who is described as *pāṇipātrika-Chandraksham-āchārya-kshamaṇa-śramaṇa*. This description is also found in the record on **B** which gives the name as *Chandrakshamaṇ-āchārya* instead of *Chandraksham-āchārya*. The epithet *pāṇi-pātrika* indicates that the Jaina monk was eating with hands. The expression *praśishya* meaning grand-pupil or pupil's pupil, as it is used in the record, qualifies the following name *Āchārya* Sarppasēna so that we have to take that the latter was the grand-pupil of the former. If, however, it is presumed that the genitive case-ending in the word *praśishya* has been omitted by mistake and is supplied by reading the word as *praśishyasya*, then it would qualify Sarppasēna's pupil Chēlū-kshamaṇa so that Sarppasēna becomes the pupil of Chandrakshamaṇa. In the record on **B** the name of the person at whose instance the image was made as well as that of his immediate teacher and of parents, if any, are lost in the damaged portion at the end of the record. This portion in the inscription on **C** is completely effaced and nothing can be made out.

The **importance** of these records lies in the fact that they refer to *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta. From the assumption of the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, Rāmagupta must have been an imperial ruler and since the records have been assigned to the 4th century A. D. he must be regarded as an imperial king of the Gupta dynasty holding sway over the Vidisha region. If this identity is accepted, then these inscriptions will be of unique importance since **they furnish the first epigraphical mention of Rāmagupta** of the imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha.

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[1] *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 25 ff. and plate.

[2] Ibid., pp. 18 ff. and plate.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 252 ff. and plate.

The controversy regarding the existence and historicity of Rāmagupta is well known to all the scholars of Indian history and particularly of Gupta history. This controversy has been going on for about half a century, ever since the discovery in 1923 of the portions of the Sanskrit drama called *Dēvīchandraguptam* by Viśākhadatta and it gained fresh momentum after the discovery of some copper coins ascribed to Rāmagupta in 1951 and afterwards.[1]

From the evidence of the drama *Dēvīchandraguptam* and other literary sources and epigraphic references of later period, scholars have tried to reconstruct the story of Rāmagupta somewhat as follows :—He was the son of Samudragupta and elder brother of Chandragupta II and succeeded his father to the throne. He was besieged by a Śaka ruler and was placed in such a difficult position that to effect his escape and for the safety of his subjects, he had to agree to surrender his queen Dhruvadēvī. But his brother Chandragupta could not tolerate this ignominious arrangement and offered to go to the enemy's camp in the guise of the queen with a view to kill the enemy. He succeeded in this plan and was raised in the estimation of his people as well as that of the queen while the reputation of Rāmagupta suffered which resulted in the enmity between the brothers. Ultimately Chandragupta II murdered Rāmagupta, succeeded to the Gupta throne and married queen Dhruvadēvī.

This ingenious reconstruction of the story of Rāmagupta was considered by some scholars as incredible and unbelievable. They doubted the existence and historicity of Rāmagupta himself in the absence of any epigraphical records mentioning his name and also of coins prior to their discovery in 1951. Even after the discovery of the copper coins of Rāmagupta, some scholars did not accept his identification with the imperial Gupta king in the absence of any imperial title but took him to be a local ruler in the Vidisha region. Dr. Sircar has even suggested that the script of the legends on the copper coins of Rāmagupta has to be assigned to the close of the 5th century on palaeographical grounds and thought him to be only a local chief.[2]

In the midst of these conflicting views, it was considered wise to suspend one's judgement. In fact Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Altekar said "we must suspend our judgement upon the historical character of Rāmagupta, his fight with the Śakas, and the strange event which deprived him of his throne, life and the natural affection and fidelity of his wife."[3]

Under these circumstances, the discovery of three stone inscriptions in the Vidisha region, two of them clearly mentioning the name of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta, is undoubtedly of great significance. As indicated above, the third record also seems to mention this ruler. And, as stated above, **they establish the existence and historicity of Rāmagupta as an imperial ruler of the Gupta dynasty.** But it must be noted that they do not solve all the other problems connected with the episode of Rāmagupta narrated above till further evidence is made available. The question of identifying the Rāmagupta of the present records with his name-sake of the copper coins has to be left open for the present in view of the difference in their palaeographical features, though such a study is extremely limited in scope because only 3 or 4 letters appear on the coins.[4]

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[1] For full particulars about this controversy, see *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI (*The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*), ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, 1946, pp. 161-65 and note on p. 161 ; *JBRS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 223 ff ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp 48 ff. ; *Journ. Num. Soc.*, Vol. XII, pp. 103-06 ; ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 128-30; ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 108-09; ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 340-44; ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 106-07 and 164 ff ; ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 11-14 and 162-70 ; and *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XL, pp. 533 ff. See also D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 226-29.

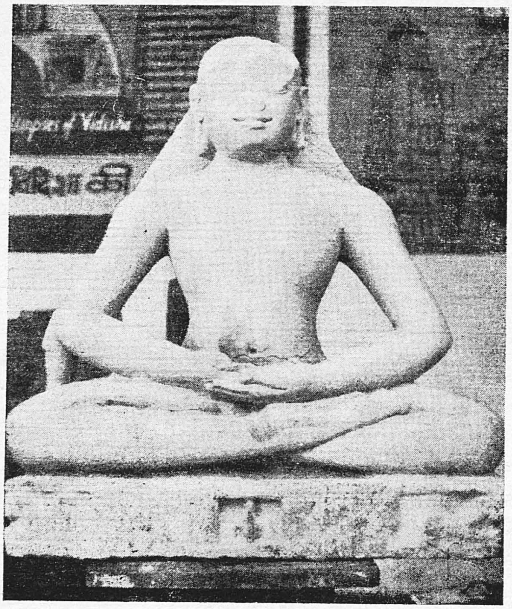
[2] *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, pp. 533 ff.

[3] *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, 1946, p. 164.

[4] My thanks are due to my colleagues Shri P. R. Srinivasan and Dr. K. V. Ramesh for some suggestions.

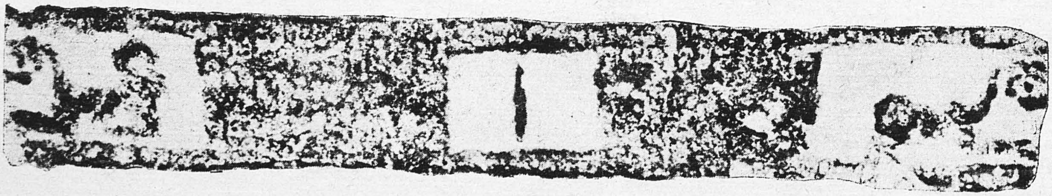
THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF RAMAGUPTA—PLATE II

Image C



(From Photograph)

Inscription on Image C



Scale : Two-sevenths

TEXT[1]

Inscription on Image A

1 Bhagavatō=rhataḥ Chandraprabhasya pratimē=yaṁ kāritā ma-

2 hārājādhirāja-**śrī-Rāmaguptēna** upadēśāt=pāṇipā-

3 trika-Chandrakshamā[2]chāryya-kshamaṇa-śramaṇa-praśishya-āchā-

4 ryya Sarppasēna-kshamaṇa-śishyasya Gōlakyāntyā-satputrasya Chēlū-kshamaṇasy=ēti ||

Inscription on Image B

1 Bhagavatō=rhataḥ Pushpadantasya pratimē=yaṁ kāritā ma-[3]

2 hārājādhirāja-**śrī[4]-Rāmaguptēna** upadēśāt=pāṇipātrika-

3 Chandrakshama[ṇāchā]ryya[5]-[kshamaṇa)-śramaṇa-praśi[shya][6]

4 ti[7]

Inscription on Image C[8]

1 Bhagava[tō]=rha[taḥ][9] [Padma][10]prabhasya pratimē=yaṁ [kā]ritā mahā[rājā]dhirā[ja]-

2 **śrī-[Rāmaguptē]na**[11]u[padēśat=pā][12]ṇi-[pātri] · [13]

3 · · [14]

4 · [14]

---

[1] From the impressions taken under my supervision.

[2] The two letters *ksha* and *mā* are slightly blurred.

[3] The formation of this letter *m* is rather peculiar in as much as the head is curved into a downward stocke.

[4] This letter is slightly damaged.

[5] Inscription on image A reads *Chandrakshamāchāryya*

[6] Only a portion of the letter *sha* is preserved.

[7] This line is completely effaced.

[8] This record is badly damaged and effaced.

[9] Traces of *visarga* marks can be seen on the impression.

[10] Traces of those letters can be seen on the impression.

[11] Faint traces of the letters *ma* and *ptē* can be seen on the impression so that the word can be restored as *Rāmaguptēna.*

[12] The letters in the brackets have been restored with the help of the other records.

[13] The remaining letters in this line are completely effaced.

[14] The letters in this line are completely effaced.

No. 9—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM TUDUMULADINNE

(*1 Plate*)

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

(*Received on 22.12.1966*)

The two subjoined inscriptions were copied from **Tuḍumuladinne,** Cuddapah **taluk,** Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh during the year 1938-39 and noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year as Nos. 422 and 425. They are now edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. For convenience's sake No. 422 would be referred to as **A** and 425 as **B** in the article.

Inscription A in Telugu which is engraved on a slab now forming the threshold of the eastern entrance into the Kēśava temple in the village, records that the village Turimiḷḷadinne was the *agrahāraṁ* of Nāchana Sōma given to him as an *ēkabhōgaṁ* by Prauḍhadēva-mahārāja. It is an undated late epigraph merely recording a past event. Inscription B which is also in Telugu is engraved on the *dhvajastaṁbha* in front of the same temple states that Pushpāla Pāpana erected the *divyagaṁbham* for Chennakēśvara of **Turimiḷadina,**the *agrahāra* of Nāchirāju Sōma, in the **Saka year 1451, Virōdhi, Āshāḍha śu. 11, Thursday** in the reign of **Kṛishṇadēvarāya.** The details of the date regularly correspond to **1529 A.D., June 17.** As will be shown in the sequel, the mention of Turimiḷadina as an *agrahāra* of Nāchirāju Sōma in this inscription is also a reference to a past event as in the case of the other inscription referred to already.

The main interest of the two inscriptions lies in the fact that they refer to the village Turimiḷḷadinne or Turimiḷadina as the *agrahāra* of Nāchana Sōma. Nāchana Sōma or Nāchirāju Sōma referred to in these two records is evidently the Telugu poet who is well known by his works *Uttara Harivaṁśamu* and *Vasantavilāsamu* of which the former work is available in full while the latter is known to us only by references made to it by later poets.

The earliest reference to Nāchana Sōma is found in two copper plate grants of Bukka I dated in Śaka 1266, Tāraṇa (=1344 A.D.),[1] wherein he figures as the recipient of the village Peñchukaladine situated on the banks of the Pinākinī. On this date Bukka I, who is given here the full regal titles, was ruling the kingdom jointly with his brother Harihara.[2]

Now according to inscription A, Prauḍhadēvarāya is said to have granted the village Turimiḷḷadinne to Nāchana Sōma. This Prauḍhadēvarāya could not have been Dēvarāya II, son of Vijaya *alias* Bukka III, who ruled between A. D. 1422 and 1446 as he is too far removed from Bukka I. He could have been only Dēvarāya I, who is referred to as Prauḍhadēvarāya in an inscription[3] dated Śaka 1299 and in some local records.[4] Devarāya I ascended the throne on Friday, Kārttika ba. 10 in the cyclic year Vyaya, i.e., Saka 1328 which corresponded to 5th

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Nos. GD 46 and MB 158 ; *Uttara Harivaṁśamu, pīṭhika.* The chronogram *rasa.bhū* (or *ras-ābhra*)*nayan-ēndu* for the Śaka year quoted in both these records has to be emended as *ras.artu nayan ēndu* to fit them into the reign of Bukka I. Otherwise as it is, it would yield a date long before the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire.

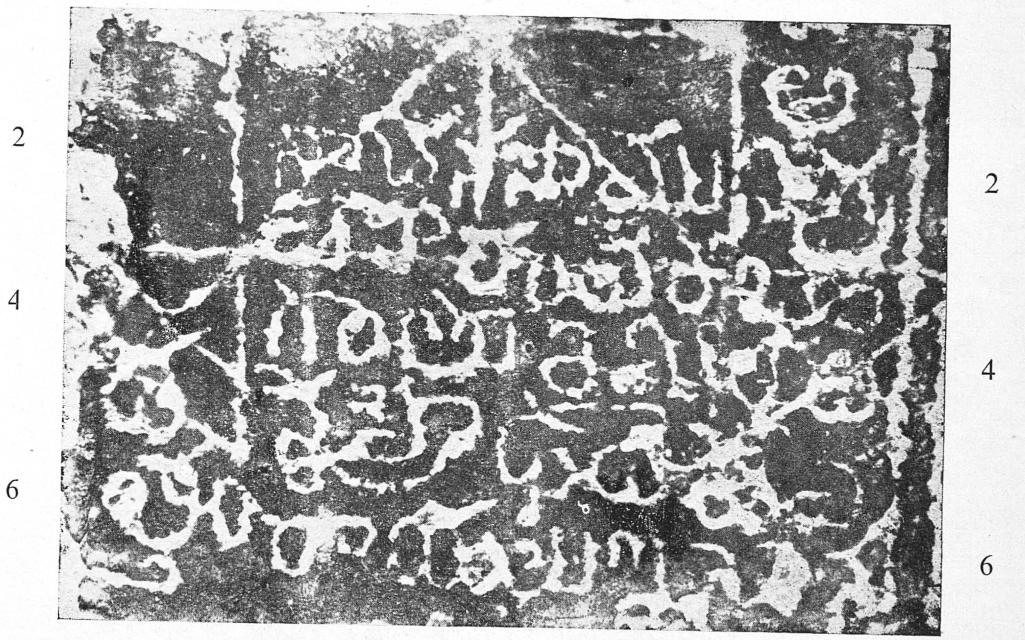
[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, BN. 59 ; *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, pp. 77-78

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, 1926, No. 399.

[4] *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, Nos. 38, 39 etc.

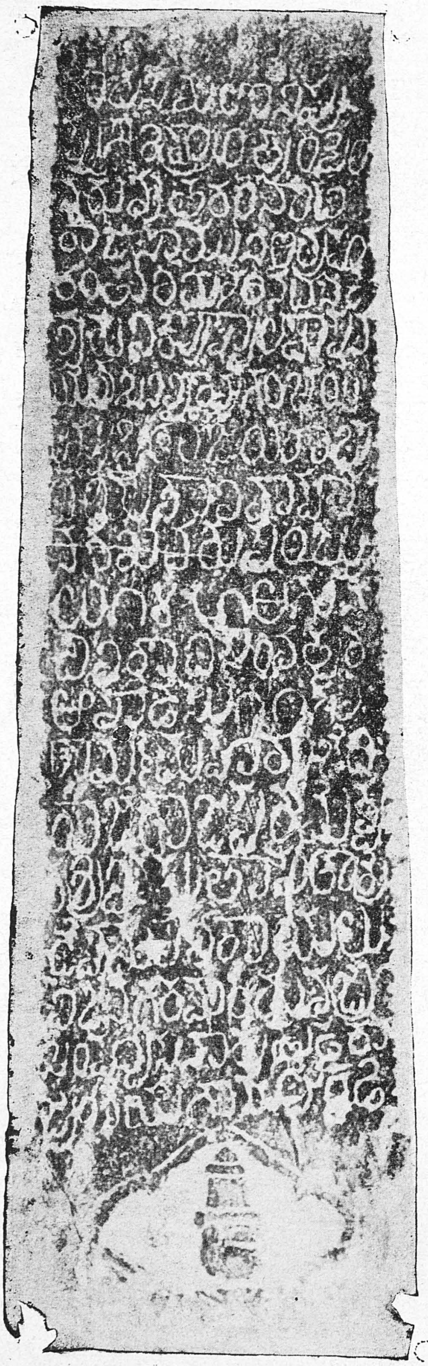
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM TUDUMULADINNE

A



Scale : One-half

B



Scale : One-fifth

November, 1406 A.D.[1] As our inscription is not dated it is also possible that Dēvarāya I made the grant of this village during his viceroyalty in this region under his father Harihara II as evidenced by two inscriptions from the Cuddapah District dated in Śaka 1299[2] and 1319[3] respectively. Even the earliest date for Dēvarāya I, i.e., Śaka 1299 is 33 years later than the date of the Copper Plates of Bukka I referred to above wherein Nāchana Sōma figures. We may, therefore, have to conclude that Nāchana Sōma had a very long span of life or that he had gained royal recognition as a poet quite early in his life.[4]

It is curious that we do not find any reference to Nāchana Sōma in any inscription of Harihara II and Bukka II who ruled between Bukka I and Dēvarāya I.

The gift village **Turimiḷḷadinne** or Turimiḷadina can be identified with modern Tuḍumuladinne, the findspot of the inscriptions under discussion.

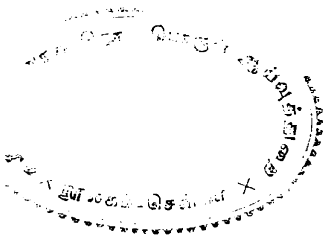
A

TEXT[5]

1 Nāchana Sōmuni [6]agra-
2 hāraṁ ēkabhō-
3 gaṁ **Turimi[ḷḷa]di-**
4 **nne Prauḍhadēva-ma[hā*]-**
5 **rāyalu** ichchina
6 dattaṁ[7] [||*]

B

TEXT[5]



1 Svasti [||*] śrī Jayābhyu-[8]
2 daya **Śālivāha-**
3 **na-Śakha(ka)-varushambu-**
4 **lu 1451 agunē-**
5 **ṭi Virōdhi Saṁvatsara**
6 **Āshāḍha su 11 Gu[||*]**
7 Śrīman-mahārājādhi-
8 rāja-rājaparamēśva-
9 ra-śrī-vīrapratāpa-śrī-**Kri(Kṛi)-**
10 **[shṇa*]dēva-mahārāyalu**

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, HN.133.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, 1926, No. 399.

[3] *A Topographical list of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 575, No. 9A.

[4] The Peñchukaladinne grants (GD 56 and MB 158 of *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X) describe Nāchana Sōma as follows *Ashṭādaśa-purāṇānām-abhijñātārtha-vēdinē | Ashṭabhāshākavitva-Śrī-vāṇīvijita-saṁrāḍē.*

[5] From impressions.

[6] *a* is engraved above the line.

[7] *Dattaṁ* is engraved in the margin on the left side.

[8] The inscription commences in the middle of the slab and is continued on the top from line 14 onwards.

11 Vije(ja)[ya*] nagaramaṁdu vajra-

12 siṁhvā(hā)sanārūḍhuḍai rā-

13 jyam śē(chē)yagānu Ghaṇḍi-

14 kōṭasīmalōni Pu-

15 shpagiriprāṁtya(ta)ṁ Peṁ-(Pe)

16 nnaku vuttaraṁ Nāchi-

17 rāju Sōmuni agrahā-

18 raṁ **Turimiḷadina** Cha(Che)nnakē-

19 śvaruniki Pushpāla Pāpanā

20 yu[ḍu] nilpi[na] divya-gaṁbhaṁ ||

MGIPC—S1—1 DGA/68—15-7-72—1036.

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4. *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 10 : *The Gavimath and Pālkiguṇḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka* (pages 24 and 18 Plates), by R.L. Turner, M.C., M.A., D.Litt., 1952 (second impression). Price Rs. 10.

5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V (1898-99), with a list of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A. D. 400 by Prof. F. Keilhorn, C.I.E., Göttingen. Edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph. D. (Reprinted). Price Rs. 35.

6. *Epiqraphia Indica*, Volume X (1909-10), with a list of the Brāhmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A. D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśoka, by Prof. H. Lūder Rostock. Edited by Sten Konow, Ph. D. and V. Venkayya, M. A. (Reprinted). Price Rs. 35.

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